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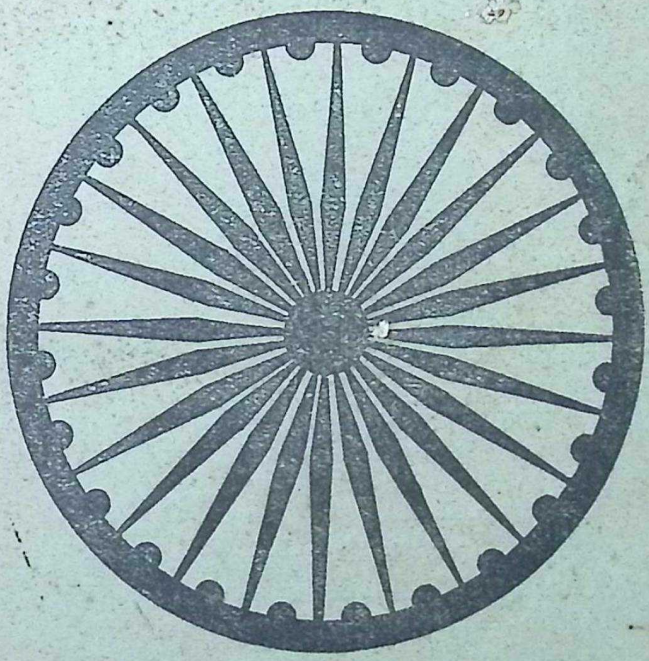
VOL. XXXIV PARTS I & II

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY



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Only Sj. Prahlād Pradhān of Śāntiniketan was authorised to work on Abhidharma-Samuccaya by the Council of the Bihar Research Society [*vide* Resolution 6(a) of the meeting of the Council held on July 28, 1946]. Abhidharma-Samuccaya of Asaṅga, brought by Sj. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, is a fragmentary text. Sj. Pradhān has been working at it since that date and has long ago edited it having compared with the Tibetan and Chinese translations and has restored the missing portion with the help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations and the commentary on it probably by Sthiramati also brought from Tibet. This is a basic text of the Yogācāra school and is a very important work. We are glad to announce that though long completed, it has now been found possible to arrange for publication, and it has gone to the press ; it will be available to the scholars soon Abhidharma-koṣa-Bhāṣya also is being edited by him with the help of Rev. Pai Wei, a Chinese Scholar of the Viśvabhāratī Cheena-Bhavana.

We regret to say that without our permission for publication, a manuscript of some portions of the Kārikās have been recently published by Dr. Gokhale, working under the auspices of the Bombay University Library, whose Librarian, Dr. Joshi, obtained a loan of these Negatives of our Tibetan Mss. for enlargement and use though they were informed of the works already taken up by the Viśvabhāratī and asked to leave out the relevant texts from their own scope of work. Dr. Gokhale has not had even mentioned the name of our Society, though it is not unknown to him that these materials were taken from here, and that certain terms of publication were agreed upon which have not been adhered to.

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VOL. XXXIV] 1948 [PARTS I & II

Leading Articles.

ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1947-48.

It is my pleasant duty to offer Your Excellency a most cordial welcome on behalf of the Bihar Research Society. We feel profoundly gratified that Your Excellency has kindly consented to become the President of our Society and also to preside at this Annual Meeting in the midst of your multifarious engagements. We are fully confident that under the benign guidance of Your Excellency, whose vast erudition and genuine patronage for the cause of learning are well-known, our Society will continue to flourish.

Before proceeding further I would like to express our sense of gratefulness to our retiring Vice-President, the Hon'ble Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Judge, Federal Court of India. Words cannot describe how much indebted our Society is to him for his manifold contributions to it, particularly for his selfless zeal and care with which he guided its affairs for several years. A true friend of culture in the real sense of the term Sir Fazl, we are sure, will yet help us with his kind advice whenever we shall need it.

A short report of the Society's work, prepared by its Honorary Secretary, has already been circulated. I would present to you a more detailed account of it during the past twelve months. In reviewing this work I must, in the first instance, allude to the main topics that have come out in the Society's Journal during this period.

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Owing to the acute press and paper difficulties, we have published two issues of the Journal, March and June numbers being combined in one and September and December numbers in the other.

The first issue begins with the *Annual Review of the Society during 1946-47* by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice (as he then was) Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali. This is followed by an article on *Pushkari* in which the learned author, Mr. G. Ramdas of Jeypore, has tried to identify, on the basis of literary as well as epigraphic evidence, the site of the ancient *Pushkari*. It was, in his opinion, the "chief centre of the kings of Nala Dynasty" who ruled over the kingdom of Kosala. The next article, entitled "Letters of British Officers addressed *to Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur about the capture of the Bhonsle of Nagpur*", by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu of Jodhpur, presents the correspondence that passed between Maharaja Man-Singh of Jodhpur and the English East India Company regarding delivery of the Bhonsle Raja to the British after he had taken shelter at Jodhpur in 1827, where he died a few years later. The third paper containing an account of "*Malik Ambar's relations with the Portuguese*" has been contributed by Mr. B. G. Tamaskar of Jubbalpur. Then comes a critical study of "*Some Aspects of Maithila Culture*" by a young scholar of Mithila, Mr. Jayakanta Misra. We have in the next paper, written by Mr. Ramanath Jha, Librarian, Raj Darbhanga, a critical comment on an article of Dr. Hiranand Sastri, regarding "*Citra-Rasamañjarī*" which was published in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*. Mr. Jha observes : "what Dr. Sastri claimed to have discovered are not fragments of an '*Uttama Khaṇḍa Kāvya*' not known before, but are the illustrative verses from one of the most well-known works on *Sanskṛta Alaṁkāra Śāstra*, namely the famous *Rasamañjarī* of the renowned Maithila Poet Kavirāja Bhānudatta Miśra". Then appears an article on "*The India of Greeks and Romans of 326 B. C. to 641 A. D.*" the writer of which, Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum, has adduced certain arguments to challenge the view which Rev. Father Perumalil of Travancore had expressed in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVIII, 1942, to the following effect: "The India of the Early Greeks and Romans from the time of Alexander the Great to the fall of Alexandria, in 641 A. D., is the one and only India which is bounded on the

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West by the river Indus, on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the mouth of the Ganges, and on the remaining sides by the Indian Ocean." This is followed by a learned contribution on "*Mir Jumla's Administration in the Karnatak*" by Professor Jagadish Narayan Sarkar of Patna College, written on the authority of contemporary original sources in Persian and English. After this appears a very valuable paper entitled "*Timur Shah and an Indian Prince*" written by Professor S. H. Askari of Patna College, chiefly on the authority of an incomplete copy of *Roznamcha* of the unfortunate Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam II, the *Akhbarat* sent by his Munshi from the North to the Peshwa and some other contemporary sources. It narrates the adventures of Prince Ahsan Bakht, a son of Emperor Shah Alam II, "who after wandering in many places inquest of allies and supporters repaired to the court of Taimur Shah Durrani, secured his patronage and promise to invade India in the interest of the tottering Empire and also did what he could to induce Zaman Shah to repeat the exploits of his grandfather in India". Next we have Dr. Verrier Elwin's Address, delivered at the last Annual Meeting of our Society on "*Our Debt to India's Tribesmen*". While giving a brief review of past Anthropological studies in our country, the learned lecturer urged for further work in the field for which there are immense possibilities in India. The first of a series of lectures organised by this Society and delivered by Dr. S. C. Sarkar with reference to this Society and its work appears in this issue. In the last article Mr. Adris Banerjee of the Government of India Archaeological Department has presented to us a critical study of some images of the Sarnath Museum.

The second combined issue begins with an article by Mr. G. Ramadas on "*The Gāngeya Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsara Prārambhah*" in which the learned writer deals with the history of Ancient Kalinga and the Western Gangas chiefly on the basis of inscriptional evidence. This is followed by a critical note by Dr. S. C. Sarkar on the Catalogue of Miscellaneous Tibetan Xylograph works in the Bihar Reseatch Society's Library. The next article is a critical study by Mr. Priyatosh Banerjee of a "*Mediaeval Bronze Sculpture of Arapa-chana from Nepal*", now belonging to the collection of Dewan

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Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna City. The third article in this issue, written by Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghoshal of G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, on the authority of unpublished contemporary documents, deals with "*Currency Situation in Bengal at the end of the Eighteenth Century*". Next appears Prof. S. H. Askari's article on "*Zaman Shah and Prince Mirza Ahsan Bukht*", based on the same sources as those which he had utilised to prepare his other paper already referred to. Then comes a well written paper on "*Conception of Law in Ancient India*" by Professor Radhakrishna Chowdhury of Ganesa Datta College, Beguserai. The last article in this issue is by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta of Patna College on "*Some Judicial Appointments*" during the early 19th Century. It is based on certain unpublished records which Dr. Datta discovered a few years back in the office of the District Judge of Patna. In an Appendix to this issue we have published a part of the Sanskrit Text of *Dhira-Naishadham*, the first dramatic work of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ramavatara Sarma, a scholar of outstanding calibre. We have also reviewed some important books.

This brief account will show that original articles of good quality have been contributed to our Journal by scholars from different parts of the country, and that it has well maintained its reputation as one of the most learned publications. With all the handicaps of an extraordinary situation we have been able to bring out all the issues during the period under review.

An extraordinary meeting of the Society was held in the B. A. Lecture Theatre of the Patna College on the 14th December, 1947, when Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S, Editor-in-Charge of the Society's Journal, delivered a lecture on "*Plassey—its Genesis and Sequel*". This was the second of a series of public lectures organised in pursuance of a resolution of the Council of the Society to the effect that the Society should take steps towards establishing a more direct contact with the educated public, and make the results of its work available to them by other means as well, besides its Journal.

In our Library, we have a stock not only of valuable and rare books and Journals of various categories but also of some original documents in different languages.

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The progress of research on the rare collections of Tibetan Manuscripts of the Society by its Honorary Secretary has already been noted by him in his Report. We are trying our best to secure, as soon as possible, the services of a Tibetan-knowing Scholar to assist the Society in the furtherance of this work.

I have to note with regret the suspension, due to want of finance, of one of our very useful activities, that is, search for and collection of original manuscripts. May I, on behalf of the Society, reiterate our request to the Government for adequate financial support to enable us to revive this much needed work. The importance of this kind of activity, in the interest of truth and culture, can hardly be overestimated. In fact, a correct and comprehensive history of our country is an urgent national need and for its preparation materials are still to be collected from hidden corners in different parts. Our thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for his kindly employing two Research Assistants, who are engaged under the guidance of Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, in the survey of manuscript works of all varieties throughout Bihar and have already discovered some valuable works. But much more is required for further progress. We wish our Society could have in no time sufficient finanacial resources to enable it to extend due collaboration in this matter.

We are in an entirely new age, when nothing is more necessary for mankind than a rational culture which will enable us to march forward on right lines. The truest source of inspiration for the stupendous task of reformation that lies ahead of us after we have reached the goal of our independence must be sought in India's rich cultural heritage. It is therefore incumbent on all, in whatever spheres of life we may be placed, to help the revival of our culture in all its manifold aspects and the dissemination of its inner spirit, far and near.

Before concluding this review I must take this opportunity of thanking Dr. S. C. Sarkar, Mr. Saiyid Ahsan Shere, and Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury for their valuable work as Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian respectively and the members of the Council for their ungrudging help to me. Lastly, I must express the gratitude of the Society to Dr. K. K. Datta, whose researches in Indian History are well-known, for the great care and pains with which he had been editing the Journal of the Society.

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ADDRESS OF SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., HONY. D. LITT. AT THE LAST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY HELD ON 4TH APRIL 1948.

Let me begin by thanking your Committee for giving me this opportunity of renewing my personal contact with it and meeting you once again. I was a foundation-member of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and continued as an ordinary member and Committee-man for many years. The interests of a learned Society which one has nursed in its infancy, cannot ever be far from his heart.

In rising to deliver the annual address to-day, I cannot help remembering the day, twenty-eight years ago, when I discharged the same duty for the first time, and my mind instantly goes back to Sir Edward Gait who then filled the chair now occupied by Your Excellency. Sir Edward Gait was the creator of this learned body and his heart was in it ever after, as I could perceive not only from his conversation but also from the letters which he used to write to me every Christmas after his retirement from India till the end of 1946. In his last letter he indicated his coming dissolution,—He complained that he was hard of hearing, his eye-sight was failing and his hand wrote a scrawl for which he apologised to his correspondent. But to the very last he was keen on the development of historical studies in India and particularly in the north-eastern block of India, consisting of the cognate provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, with Assam joined in from time to time.

Sir Edward Gait's aim in founding this Society was to bring together a body of scholars and other enthusiastic workers who would make explorations, discover new materials, save existing records, coins, inscriptions and literary evidence from neglect and decay, and secondarily make them available in print to an audience that included the world of learning irrespective of country. At the same time ancient objects of art and worship were to be noted and where

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possible brought to public museums for safe preservation, or their private owners advised how to take better care of them. Another branch of your activities was with regard to the aboriginal tribes that have preserved very ancient and instructive cults and cultures, customs and dialects.

For these purposes, there cannot be a more promising field in India than Bihar and Orissa, Chota Nagpur and certain areas of Orissa are the anthropologist's paradise. The historical inscriptions and images found here are unequalled even by Bengal. And the written remains and folklore are abundant if only the inquirer has the requisite industry and skill. The back numbers of this Society's Journal show that you did in the past rise to the height of your opportunities, you did make valuable positive contributions to our archaeology, history and folklore.

Now that the country seems to promise to settle down after many years of trouble and turmoil, change and scarcity, now is the time for you to realise your high destiny and rise again up to your founder's ideal of positive additions to our knowledge of the true history of our land and its people. The scholarly editing of the Kharavela cave inscription, the publication of a summary of the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* (our history during 20 years) and the authoritative studies of Munda tribes, are past performances of this Society which should spur you on to an equally bright future.

After these introductory remarks Sir Jadunath delivered an address on the following subject :—

Decline of the Rajputs.

The history of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire at the close of the eighteenth century is a tale full of tragic pathos, but it is no less rich in political instruction when we have the patience to read it aright. We all know how during a short span of 34 years two Emperors of Delhi were murdered by their wazir and a third was blinded by a rebel Ruhela chieftain. We know how North India was desolated and Indo-Muslim culture was extinguished in the great capitals of Akbar and Shah Jahan; we know of the massacres committed by Nadir Shah the Persian and Ahmad Shah the Afghan invader,

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But what is not so well-known is that this material and moral ruin affected the Hindu princes and people of Rajputana no less than the grandees and ryots of the Mughal provinces. The Rajputs represented the noblest elements of the Hindu character, and the saddest aspect of the fall of the Delhi Empire was, to my mind, the utter degradation of this chivalrous race and the hopeless misery of this "Land of Rajas".

The subject will amply repay a devoted historian's research, and happily we possess the most varied and valuable contemporary evidence on it. Lt.-Col James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,* published in two volumes in 1829 and 1832, has endeared his name to every Indian who has read it, and has served as the fountain head of numberless dramas, novels and poems on its contents in every Indian language. He had the best opportunity for gathering information from the Rajput and British sides.

Tod's *Annals* has no doubt suffered in many parts by the advance of Oriental scholarship, and also from the errors of his informants and the discovery of new sources unknown to him. But he had two of the highest qualifications of a historian, namely close personal communication with more than one generation of the actors in the scenes, and a passionate sympathy for the people whose past he was recording,—a sympathy no less keen than love for one's own kith and kin. This is the preservative that will save Tod's *Rajasthan*, in spite of all the assaults of advancing research on its facts and dates

*Born on 20th March 1782, he joined E. I. Co.'s Bengal Army as a subaltern in 1800. He was placed on the staff of the English Resident with Sindhia in 1805, at a time when the Rajput States were in political subordination to that Maratha Chief. During twenty years he collected much information about Rajputana, surveyed and mapped the country, and after learning Sanskrit and the Dingal dialect studied the bardic chronicles of the Rajputs with the help of competent pandits. As head of the British Intelligence service during the Pindari war of 1817, he learnt many secret facts not otherwise to be known. Finally, as Political Agent to the Governor-General for the Western Rajput States from 1818 to 1825, he was the *Burra Sahib* or *de facto* lord of that country, and all people, high and low, unburdened their hearts to him and sought to please him by ministering to his hobby of gathering information and books on local history. The material thus collected he digested at leisure in England as the Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and then produced his masterpiece. He died on 17th November 1835, not yet fifty-four, and his finely illustrated *Travels in Western India* was published posthumously in 1839.

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But from his position Tod heard only one side of the case, the Rajput version. In the present century, however, a vast store of historical records unknown to Tod, has been brought to light, which enables us to take a full and therefore truer view of the events of that age : I mean the despatches and letters in the Marathi language. In the 18th century the Peshwa had his own resident envoys posted at the Court of Delhi and the Rajput capitals of Jaipur and Jodhpur. Their reports to Poona have been preserved in great part. In addition to this source, from 1779 onwards Nana Fadnis, the real head of the Poona Government, had his own agents in the camp of Mahadji Sindhia and the Court of Ahalyā Bai Holkar, who used to send him valuable information and well-written descriptions once or twice every month. All the above constitute what is popularly known as the Menavli daftar.

After the death of Mahadji Sindhia and Ahalyā Bai Holkar (in 1794 and 1795 respectively) a new source in Marathi comes to our aid. It is the Gulgulé daftar of Kotā, or the letters of Sindhia's officers and various other parties to Lālji Ballāl Gulgulé, the Maratha tribute-collector posted in Kotā. They fill the void created by the cessation of despatches from North India to Poona.

The correspondence of the British Residents with Sindhiā from 1785 onwards, which we have edited for the Bombay Government, also fill this gap, but not so satisfactorily as the Marathi papers do. Light from a fourth source consists in the Persian lives of Jaswant Rao Holkar by Mohan Singh (1808) and of Amir Khan the Pathan by Basawan Lal (1818 ?).

The despatches of the Maratha residents at the Rajput Courts are as valuable for Indian history as the reports of the Venetian ambassador in England for the reign of Henry VIII, or of the Spanish envoy for the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These vakils had knowledge of every domestic scandal of the Rajput princes, and have left for us admirable pen-pictures and character-sketches of the leading personages of the time, often reporting the very speeches on both sides.

As we read these contemporary reports, the causes of Rajput decadence become clear to the meanest understanding. The rot started from the head of the body politic.

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Each Rajput State was founded by the martial chieftain of a particular clan who entered the country at the head of his armed clansmen and seized some hill fort and made it the seat of his power. All around this centre the heads of the different branches of the same clan established their baronies by conquering as much land as they could with the help of their own family group. Unlike the barons under the feudal system in Europe, the Rajput nobles did not owe their estates and rank to their Rajah's will, but they obeyed him because they were his younger brothers or rather cousins by blood, and he was their patriarch. Thus a Rajput Raja could control his barons only when he was a born leader of men, a victor in battles and possessed of the power of bending others to his will. A weak or idiotic Rajput Raja was powerless against his nobles, and in his reign the unhappy country was ravaged and public order was overthrown by groups of related clan-branches in the same country fighting against each other and trying to usurp the control of the Government so as to be able to seize their neighbours' lands or the Crown estate.*

Unfortunately after the death of Ishwari Singh of Jaipur (1750) and Bakht Singh of Jodhpur (1752), the line of warrior Rajahs ended, and the rulers of all the Rajput States in the second half of the 18th century were sometimes helpless minors, sometimes imbeciles, and often worthless drunkards and sensualists.

When the throne ceased to be filled by a warrior-king, quarrels for acting as his regent and controlling the Government broke out among factions in the royal family or the barons. Besides, there were many disputed successions to the throne among brothers or adopted sons, and some times pretenders rose up claiming to be the late king's posthumous sons. Their civil wars invited foreign intervention. The faction that had seized power appealed for support to the Peshwa or to the Peshwa's local agent Holkar. The opposite faction immediately sent an embassy to Poona—or more often to

* Each of these sects or branches was descended from a common ancestor, usually a younger son or grandson of the founder of the dynasty, and is known by the addition of the syllable *ot* to the name of this ancestor, such as Chundā—ot, Shaktā—ot, Khangār—ot, — like the Irish prefix *O'*,—for example O'Donnell, O'Brien or the sons of Donnel. or Burn, and the Scottish prefix *Mac*.

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Holkar's local rival Sindhia, offering a higher subsidy to deprive their rival of Maratha aid. Each side made frantic bids of money, like desperate gamblers, though they knew well that it was impossible for them to pay even a hundredth part of the promised sum out of the revenue of that war-ravaged small stony or desert country. Thus, each Rajput State in the last quarter of the 18th century had piled up on paper a debt to the Marathas which sold them like insolvents to their creditors. The Maratha Government had hired out their troops and undergone heavy expenditure in Rajputana and naturally expected payment of what was legally subsidy and not tribute. But the country was soon drained dry, and no part of these promised subsidies could be realised unless a Maratha army visited the State to enforce the claim. It was exactly the same phenomenon which was seen in Oudh under the decadent Nawabs, when the land revenue of a district could not be collected unless a battalion of troops with a couple of guns accompanied the tax-gatherer. These Maratha troops lived on the country and their salary became an addition to the originally promised subsidy, thus deepening the insolvency of the Rajput State.

In such a world the state-craft of the Rajput ministers consisted in playing one Maratha general in Hindustan against another, i. e., Holkar against Sindhia, so as to gain time and evade the payment of their just debts to the Peshwa. This was exactly the game played by Abdul Hamid the last ruling Sultan of Turkey who for many years staved off the overthrow of his rule by shrewdly manipulating the rivalry between England and Russia. In 1791 the diwan of Jaipur likened this Holkar-Sindhia rivalry to a combat between two wild elephants, which he was watching from a safe distance, and he frankly said that he would discharge his Raja's debt only after one of these two Maratha chiefs had asserted his superiority over the other beyond question.

A proposal for handing over one Rajput State to Sindhia and another to Holkar exclusively, and banning the entry of each into the other's sphere of influence, did not work. On 21st July 1791, Kāshi Rao Holkar wrote to Ahalyā Bāi—"I sent to Sindhia's local agent to propose that when certain thānas in Jodhpur are ceded by their Rajah, our officers should take up the administration there equally with Sindhia's. He declined and said,—"Jodhpur State is ours (as the result

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of the victory at Merta and the consequent submission of its Raja); and here no thāna of yours can be allowed". I retorted, "Jaipur State is our sphere of influence, why then have you posted your own thānas there?" His explanation was, "In Jaipur the Peshwa has a claim to the subsidy, and for that reason we have planted our thānas". (*Chandrachur Daftar*, Vol. II. let. No. 80).

In fact, the hoarded wealth of the Rajas of Rajputana was a myth and the Marathas took many years to realise this fact. The story had spread that Sawāi Jai Singh of Jaipur and Abhay Singh of Mārwār, during their viceroyalties of Malwa and Gujrat respectively in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, had accumulated many krores of Rupees. This story was confirmed by the laudatory poems of the Rajput bards, each of whom exaggerated his patron's riches in order to flatter him. The sober reality can be judged from the fact that while the standard income of the Jaipur State was a hundred lakhs in 1743, it had sunk to 16 lakhs in 1818 when the English undertook its protection. In 1786 the Jaipur diwān Khush-hāli Rām Bahorā told Mahādji Sindhiā,—"You demand the payment of 60 lakhs of Rupees as our debt. We have not even sixty lakhs of broken potsherds in our Treasury. How can we pay Rupees?" (*Dilli-yethil Rājkāranen*, Vol. I. letter 163.)

The march of time had now brought another infliction down on the Rajput race. War is the only profession of the Rajput gentry. Even when the poorer men of their clans lived by agriculture, they had the manual labour done by lower castes and kept themselves ready to follow their landlords to battle. But the old Indian method of warfare in which the Rajputs charged in a tumultuous body and engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand fight with their swords, had proved futile before fire arms. Sindhia's general De Boigne by his two victories in 1790—the first at Patan in Jaipur territory (20 June) and the second at Mertā in Jodhpur (10 September), had proved beyond doubt that the bravest Rajput cavalry was powerless before quick-firing guns and disciplined musketeers. Under the sense of their own military inferiority, the Rajput Rajas made a pathetic attempt to hire a match for Sindhia's European-trained brigades.

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The Rajas now began, for the first time, to hire foreign mercenaries, who were popularly called Sindhis, but lived exactly like the *condottieri* of Italy in the Middle Ages. "These hired bands were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics .... These guards were composed either of Purbia Rajputs (*i. e.*, Oudh and Buxar men), Sindhis, Arabs or Rohillas." (Tod, ii. Marwar, ch. xiii.) A little later, following the example of Sindhia and Holkar, even Jaipur and Kotā engaged French mercenary captains and ordered them to raise trained battalions, but with no real success. These men could not rival De Boigne's success, and their inefficient troops, by their heavy pay-bill, only increased their Raja's insolvency and disorder in his realm.

The moral decay of Rajput society completed the ruin of their country. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the custom of domestic concubinage, though very ancient in its origin, now produced only the most degrading effect upon the Rajput character. These warriors had no superiority to the pampered princes and grandees of the Mughal Court in their relations with women. In the unhappy kingdom of Jodhpur, the administration was entirely dominated by a royal mistress of the Oswāl caste, while the king lived as a non-entity, or *nirmālya* as the Maratha envoy aptly likens him. In Jaipur, Jagat Singh who reigned from 1803 to 1818, had "the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age" (Tod. ii. Amber, ch. III). Their legitimate queens, though daughters of kings, were daily insulted by the domination of women of infamous character, and felt themselves powerless to relieve the misery of their subjects. You see we have now come far away from the age in which Rajput queens had fought on horseback to repel foreign invaders. *

Land was the only source of wealth and of social status among the Rajputs. So long as the Mughal empire was expanding, the Rajas and barons of Rajasthan carved out new estates for themselves

* It was a most painful surprise to me to learn from the Marathi despatches how many of the Rajput Rajas, nobles and ministers were infected by the filthy unmentionable disease which is Nature's punishment for gross licentiousness.

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and their younger sons by service under the banners of Delhi. But in the middle of the 18th century, the Emperor became a mere shadow, and the Rajputs came to be cooped up within their small sterile districts; they had no means of advancement left to them except by devouring each other.

Their education, or more correctly their lack of it, and rigid social usages made them unfit to face the changed world when European civilisation burst upon India. Their bards of *chārans*, whose poems used to throw Tod into ecstacy, only helped to ruin the Rajput kings and nobles by inflaming their pride of family or clan and antipathy to other races of Hindustan and even other Rajput clans than their own. These false bardic poems blinded their Rajas and common people alike to the true lessons of history. The universal habit of opium-eating made them incapable of sustained exertion and debased their brains permanently.

The system of subsidiary alliances enforced by Wellesley, was condemned by Sir Thomas Munro in a letter to the Duke of Wellington on the ground that it robbed the oppressed subjects of a protected Indian Prince of their natural remedy of rebellion. But the period immediately following the acceptance of British protection showed that the subsidiary alliances at least gave internal peace to Rajputana by removing baronial turbulence, disputes about succession, and mutiny by disorderly mercenary troops. We can legitimately claim that during the short time that Mahadji Sindhia was present in or near Rajputana with his invincible army, he did give to that country the first faint beginning of *Pax Britannica*. When he left for the Deccan in January 1792, chaos was let loose again for a short time; Jaipur attacked its now independent former vassal, the Rao Raja of Alwar, with Holkar's help. But the trouble was put down by Sindhia's local agents, who also gave peace to Mewar for nearly eight years.

The tragedy of Rajputana in the period embraced in my study, was only the result of the modern age bursting upon a sleepy inert mediaeval society, that could make no attempt to adjust itself to the necessary change. This ancient people found that its virtues and vices alike led to its ruin in a strange new world. Bengal and Bihar lost their independence in 1757, but within twenty years

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a modern civilised system of administration was given to these provinces, and only sixty years after Plassey English education was being given to the grandsons of the vanquished in that battle. For Rajputana there was no such Renaissance, no modernisation for a century and a half after Plassey, though there was internal peace under British paramountcy. Hence the regeneration of the Rajputs has been extremely slow and imperfect.

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VOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIRMAN.

By DR. S. C. SARKAR.

The meeting came to a close with the following observations made by Dr. S. C. Sarkār, 'while moving the vote of thanks to His Excellency.'

It is now my pleasant duty to thank you on behalf of our Society. Should I merely thank you in accordance with convention for your kindness in sparing some time to come over to preside over our function? Perhaps it would be better to improve upon it by adding, to our gratefulness, our great expectations from Your Excellency; for ours is a starved and hungry institute, that wants to work but is handicapped, that can construct but lacks the tools; as before a shrine, we would therefore not only praise but pray and press our need. Could not we go further, and even claim Your Excellency as one of us, not in the formal way that you are already by the constitution of our society, but as one of us in spirit and sympathies, in outlook and collaboration? And along with that claim we would place ourselves at Your Excellency's disposal for use for the good of the nation. The thanksgiving of our Society is thus a complex sentiment.

Your Excellency, this is the first time our Society finds a true Indian on its Presidential Chair. Need I stress what that means and would mean for the activities of the Society, when such a Chairman happens to be a deep student of Indian Culture?

Your Excellency, in the brief tenure of office as Secretary of this Society, I have had 3 occasions (like the one tonight) to place before Your Excellency's predecessors, certain aspects of our Society s work for their sympathetic consideration. In accordance with course of events usual in India up to the present, those submissions evoked no tangible responses. Briefly, one of these suggestions was about the establishment and extension of research contacts with centres of learning in the Asiatic and Pacific regions (British Colonial, or French and Dutch Colonial, or in various stages of independence); another was about re-introduction of the tradition of Indologic scholarship amongst the administrators (or legislators)

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of the country, on the principle that rulers and leaders should know and understand the people whom they rule and lead, a principle with which the East India Company started, with great results, but which was later crushed under red-tape; and yet another suggestion was for the conversion of the Research Society and the Museum into a Central Institute for Indian Cultural Studies, to provide helpful material for both the University and the Government. This last I would now further amplify by suggesting that such a Central Research Institute should be assisted by a Pan-Asiatic or at least an East Asiatic Cultural Institute, for in reality no line can be drawn between East Asiatic and Indian civilizations, and because in the present international set-up our political and economic future are much too closely bound up with Asia East of Sinkiang and Ceylon, for us to neglect their languages, cultures, economics and politics. I would also amplify it by submitting that for the free India of the future the present system and basis or outlook of education will not do at all, and one must reframe a national educational system based on a renaissance of our ancient heritage organically combined with the best contributions of the modern world: we have to build up Bhāratī Sāṃskritik (Cultural) Universities, using as media of instruction the local mother-tongue, the 2000-year old rāṣṭra-and ṛkṣṭi-bhāṣā of all India, and one of the great International languages of the modern world, at one and the same time. And for such future University institutions, the foundations may be found in the type of Central Research Institute proposed. Finally I would submit to Your Excellency that every progressive concern must have a Research Institute behind its back; even a factory cannot do without it these days. Can a Government proceed confidently without its Research Institute? How else could there be correct, wise and successful policies for agricultural and industrial reconstruction, how else could institutions and principles of revenue or judicial administration be developed for the good of the people? Our Constitution is still a patchwork foreign imitation; our economic set-up is the reflex of contending American or Russian influences, our administration is still un-Indian, and so is our system of Law (even Hindu Law). Where is the Research Institute that may act as the Mariner's Compass to the Ship of the State.

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May I appeal to Your Excellency to try in your wisdom to construct that Compass to prevent our shipwreck ?

We thank Your Excellency once again, for your present favour and your future guidance.

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KĀCHA GUPTA AND RĀMA GUPTA.

By THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

I

The problem raised by the existence of a few coins of Kācha Gupta, a name which is not found in the genealogy of the imperial Guptas as supplied by the well-known inscriptions of those monarchs, is no doubt similar to the problem of Rāma Gupta, the evidence for whose existence comes from literary monuments only, but whose name is not given either in the aforesaid genealogies. Yet from a comparison of these two cases one thing appears certain : that the silence of the genealogies about a king cannot in any way argue against his reality, for in no way might we doubt about Kācha, as a king, for he struck coins, as good as those of the other Gupta monarchs ; yet he is not referred to in the inscriptions. The latter are not concerned with the succession of the Gupta kings, as history presents or tries to present it now, but only pretend to give the *vaṁśa* of the family, as we should say to-day, for legal purposes, in order to show that the grantor had full rights founded in his family rights and royalty to the property he is actually disposing of. Hence all those side names of persons who have left no successor to the throne are actually omitted in the epigraphs. That is the reason why Kācha is not known in the latter.

Hence if the evidence in favour of a king, though he be unmentioned in these epigraphs, comes from a reliable source, we cannot doubt his existence. The negative epigraphic evidence cannot avail to shake the strength of the positive evidence in his favour. And here naturally comes in the case of Rāma Gupta. This monarch is not known to us from the epigraphs of the family : our acquaintance with him is based on some literary evidence, which cannot, however, be rejected. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who brought this new figure upon the stage of Indian history in 1928, has critically examined this evidence and found it flawless [1]. Indeed when four independent literary

1. Altekar, "A New Gupta King", *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, pp. 234-253 ; Altekar, "Further Discussion about Rama Gupta", *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 134-141.

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documents agree about a past event even in its minor details, especially if one of the authors, as Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Devī-Chandraguptam*, is a contemporary or near centemporary of the events narrated, this concurrence shows the persistence of a historical tradition which cannot but have reality as its foundation. If the events in the *Devī-Chandraguptam* were not true to history, how could the people of Magadha have tolerated them on the stage ?

Yet there is another circumstance to be considered that enhances the value of this evidence. The literary references under study come from works belonging to three different classes of literature : a drama, the *Devī-Chandraguptam* ; a historical romance, the *Harṣa Charita* ; and an inscription on copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I. The fact, therefore, was not only within the knowledge of the dramatists, but also of the historians and of the epigraphists. Moreover in the last two cases the reference to the event is only incidental, which is a further proof that it was not a narrative fabricated for dramatic purposes, (as one could have said if it had been known through the *Devī-Chandraguptam* only) ; but an episode in the story which was apparently so universally known that a mere reference to it even without the mention of the name of the hero, could evoke it in the minds of all : "That donor, in the Kālī Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed his brother, we are told, seized his kingdom and queen"[1]. "In his enemy's city, the king of the Śakas, while courting another's wife was butchered by Chandra Gupta concealed in his mistress' dress [2]. These passing references to either episode of the whole story are of very high value as far as the authenticity of King Rāma is concerned.

Moreover there seems to have been a constant tradition regarding this event in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. For in two inscriptions of King Govindarāja IV, four generations after Amōghavarṣa, reference is made to it in unmistakable terms : "No ignominous cruelty was practised by him (Govindarāja) towards (his) elder brother, though he could do so ; no disgrace befell him for cohabiting with the wife of his

1. Grant of Amōghavarṣa I : *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 255.

2. Cowell-Thomas, *The Harṣa-Carita of Baṇa*, p. 194.

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brother (*bandhustrī*)" [1]. In which words two separate sins are clearly alluded to: 1st, cruelty tow ards the elder brother; 2nd, incest in taking his brother's w ife.

Prof. Altek ar, besides, rightly refers to the story of Rawwāl and Barkamārīs [2], narrated in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawārīkh*, which wonderfully confirms the persistence of the tradition concerning this event down to the beginning of the Christian era. The portion of the *Mujmal* which concerns our story was translated from an Arabic work which was itself a translation from a work written in the Hindwānī language (Sanskrit)[3]. Hence we have in this work a new and reliable version of the tradition as was found in Sind at the time of the Muhammadan invasion. This story gives the real explanation why Chandra Gupta took Dhruvadevī after Rāma's death; for the wretched Rawwāl (corresponding to Rāma) had first taken his brother Barkamārīs's (corresponding to Chandra Gupta's) wife. Hence when the latter killed Rawwāl, he did nothing more than recover his lawful wife. Incidentally the dramatic effect produced by the daring of Chandra Gupta in slaying the Kṣatrapa king is much enhanced and even appears much more natural if we suppose that Dhruvadevī was already Chandra Gupta's wife and that he wanted to save her from further injury. Thus the whole ignominy of the incest falls upon the wretched Rāma, not upon Chandra Gupta. There seems to be an allusion to this new point of view in the inscriptions of Govindarāja IV explained above, for while the cruelty is clearly said to have been against the "elder brother" (in our case Chandra Gupta's cruelty in killing Rāma), the incest is not said to have consisted in the taking of the "elder brother's" wife. It is well-known that in India the eldest brother only has a special denomination; hence when the inscriptions mention the brother's wife, this brother cannot be the eldest in any way, who happens to be the elder in our case.

1 Sangli copper plates: *I. A.* XII, p. 250; Cambay copperplates: *E. I.*, VII, p. 38. Cf. Dikshit, *Selected Inscriptions from Mahārashṭra*, p. 16 and note.

2 In the second of the abovementioned articles.

3 Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, I, pp. 100-101.

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In any case the two stories, that of the *Mujmalu-t Tawārīkh* and that of the Hindu sources, tally very strikingly. The immediate succession of the elder brother after the death of the father. The war of a neighbouring Rāja and the defeat of the elder brother. The demand of the victorious Rāja for the supposed wife of the elder brother. The acquiescence of the latter in the demand of the invader. The stratagem of the younger brother to save the Queen from infamy. The suspicion of the elder brother against the younger. The madness feigned by the latter. The slaying of the king by his younger brother. Prof. Altekar even sees the title of Chandragupta, Vikramāditya, in the corrupted form of the name Barkamārīs of the younger brother.

One detail is given in this Persian work which is not found in the fragments we possess of the *Devī Chandraguptam*, namely that the victorious Rāja had demanded the surrender not only of the Queen for himself, but also of other girls sent by the leaders of the defeated army for his chiefs[1]. This demand shows why the supposed Queen should have gone to the camp of the Kṣatrapa ruler accompanied by several maidens, as the *Devī Chandraguptam* describes it, when apparently only she had been required to proceed to his camp. Moreover, this invitation to send girls for the chiefs of the Kṣatrapa camp also explains what is otherwise inexplicable, namely how Chandra Gupta and his followers could escape safe to the Gupta capital once more ; for the Kṣatrapa army remained absolutely without any leader and consequently at the mercy of their enemies.

Yet Prof. Altekar has noted a difference between this narrative and the history of the Gupta dynasty as we know up to now. "We are told that Rawwāl's father, Rāsal, had been expelled from his kingdom and had to move to the south...This cannot be true of Samudra Gupta or of his father "[2]. Nevertheless, if we admit the identification of Chandra Gupta with Chandasena of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, as suggested by Jayaswal[3] and supported by Pires[4], we shall be

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.

2 Altekar, " Further Discussion about Rāmagupta ", *op. cit*, p. 140.

3 Jawaswal , " Historical Data in the Drama Kaumudī-Mahotsava ", *J. B. O R. S.* XII, pp. 50-56.

4 Pires, *The Maukharis*, pp. 36-41.

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forced to admit that Chandra Gupta I was driven out of Pāṭaliputra by the rebellion of the frontier governors (probably in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas, to the south of his kingdom), wherein he seems to have lost his life[2].

All this goes to show that the evidence gathered from these literary monuments is quite reliable and that consequently Rāma Gupta was a real king of the Gupta lineage, whose conduct, nevertheless, was not a credit to it.

II

Yet the newly unearthed hoard of more than 2000 Gupta gold coins in Bharatpur State[3], creates a new and very interesting problem round the person of Rāma Gupta. Some of the coins were melted down and lost immediately after their discovery; but soon afterwards, through the energetic measure of H. H. the Mahārāja, 1821 coins of the hoard were finally recovered[4]. In this extraordinary find all the imperial Guptas are represented from Chandra Gupta I to Skanda Gupta, thus :

Chandra Gupta I	10 coins.
Kācha Gupta	15 coins.
Samudra Gupta	173 coins.
Chandra Gupta II	961 coins.
Kumāra Gupta I	623 coins.
Kramāditya (Skanda Gupta)	1 coin.

1 *Kaumudimahotsava*, p. 10.

2 *Ibid.* Act V. Our view is not very far from what is said in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, according to which Kācha (or Kacha) reigned conjointly with his father Chandra Gupta. Bhattacharya, "New Light on the History of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty", *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXX, p. 12. This, if the authority of this *Purāṇa* is finally accepted, seems quite reasonable and there is no evidence to contradict it in any way. Cf. Gupta, "Kācha, A Step-Brother of Samudragupta", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V. pp. 35-36; Majumdar, "A forged Purāṇa-Text on the Imperial Guptas", *I. H. Q.*, XX, pp. 345-350.

3 Altekar, "Bayana Hoard of the Gupta Gold Coins", *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII, p. 179.

4 *Inaugural Speech of Col. His Highness Shri Brijendra Sawai Maharajadhiraj Shri Brijindra Singhji Bahadur Bahadur Jung of Bharatpur at All-India Numismatic Conference*, Bombay, 1947, p. 2

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Among them are several new types and some unique coins. Prof. Altekar observes that "the coins in this hoard are probably greater in number than all the Gupta gold coins in all the museums of the world" [1]. Yet of all these coins, as may be remarked on an inspection of the above classification list there is not a single one to be assigned to Rāma Gupta. How to explain these curious phenomenon?

It is possible, as we heard from the lips of Prof. Altekar at the meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in Bombay in December, 1947 that the coin or coins (which in any case would be very few) representing Rāma Gupta in this hoard were among those that were melted down or lost; but this possibility would render it an extraordinary coincidence, beyond the sphere of probability. Prof. Altekar feels that his hero, Rāma Gupta, is tottering on the pedestal he has rightly erected for him in the gallery of Gupta monarchs, and in order to save his existence, he attempts to prop him up with numismatic support. Kācha Gupta has also been a mysterious king, but well supported by numismatic evidence. Hence he is now inclined to identify Kācha with Rāma, making the former, the elder brother of Samudra Gupta, the wretched king dealt with in the *Devī Chandraguptam*[2].

The identification proposed by Altekar seems totally unwarranted. The coins of Kācha have led some scholars to identify him with Samudra Gupta, and others to place him immediately prior to him. But none up to now has felt justified in putting him one generation later. The present writer, after considering both the evidence of the coins themselves and the circumstances of the succession of Samudragupta and the troublous state of his kingdom, in the beginning of his reign, as is evident from the study of his Allahabad *praśasti*, is of the opinion that Kācha was Samudra Gupta's elder brother, who, displeased at the election of Samudra Gupta by his father, rebelled against the new king and immediately struck coins as a sign of sovereignty. But he was defeated in a number of battles, and finally

1 Altekar, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Prof. Altekar suggested this identification in the Presidential Address read in the meeting of the morning, 27th December 1947; and propounded it in a paper read in the evening.

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submitted to his younger brother[1]. This is in agreement with the information given in the *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*, according to which Samudra Gupta had a brother who contested the throne against him[2].

It is also worth considering that the coins of Kācha are, of all Gupta coins of the "standard type" the only ones in which one does not see the Garuḍa, the dynastic *lāñchana*, to the left of the king. Hence, if we place these coins of Kācha after Samudra Gupta's, the interruption of the appearance of the *lāñchana* flag staff seems unnatural. But if we place them between Chandra Gupta I's and Samudra Gupta's, they seem to fit in most wonderfully. Chandra Gupta I holds in his left hand a standard surmounted by what has been described as a crescent, but which might very well be a *chakra* not properly impressed by the dye[3]. Kācha similarly holds the same standard with a clear *chakra* surrounded by dots (as in the case of some of the marks of the punch-marked coins). Samudra Gupta is the first monarch who introduces the Garuḍa *lāñchana* and this appearance of the *lāñchana* on his coins tallies with his receiving from feudatory chiefs "Garuḍa tokens", *garutmadaṅka*, as the Allahabad *praśasti* informs us[4], which tokens are perhaps those very coins adorned with the image of the Garuḍa. So apparently during the first years of the dynasty the *chakra* was used as the *lāñchana* of the royal house; but Samudra Gupta seems to have changed it officially for the Garuḍa. Perhaps the *chakra* was found to be not exclusively Vaiṣṇava, as it was also used by the Buddhists. There could be no confusion about the Garuḍa. In any case it appears on the standard type coins of all the other imperial Guptas. It would have been strange indeed if the first successor of Samudra Gupta had discarded the Garuḍa *lāñchana* from his coins, adopting instead the *chakra* once more.

1 Cf. Heras, "Two Controversial Points in the Reign of Samudra Gupta", *A. B. O. R. S.*, IX. pp. 83-87

2 Gupta, "Kācha—A Step-Brother of Samudragupta", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V pp. 149-150.

3 This possibility is all the greater since in most cases the object placed on the standard staff is outside the coin range. In the catalogue of the British Museum two cases only show the top of the flag.

4 vv. 23-24: Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

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It might be objected that the inscription on Kācha's coins does not seem to agree with a young king whose reign, as we deduce, was very short. But this incongruity could also be raised as an argument if Kācha were identified with Rāma. Elsewhere we have said that the statement of the inscription is so generally vague that it sounds like an empty boast, comprehensible in a young king in the beginning of his reign: *Kācho gām avajitya divaṁ karmabhir uttamair jayati.* More expressive seems to be the short but significant *biruda* on the reverse: *Sarvarājocchettā.* Who could all those exterminated *rājas* be?

The circumstances narrated in the *Kaumudīmahotsava* in connection with the end of Chandrasena-Chandra Gupta's reign may perhaps be remembered as the background of the picture evoked by this *biruda.* When the rebellion of the frontier generals took place towards the close of Chandra Gupta's reign, the latter sallied from his capital forthwith to subdue the rising; and in the meantime the young prince Kalyāṇavarman was enthroned at Pāṭaliputra. But after the staging of the drama which gives us this information on the occasion of the latter's wedding with a Prayāga princess we hear no more about his fortunes; silently he disappears from the stage of history, in the same silent way as the actors of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* disappeared from the stage of the *Gāṅgamahāl.* Chandra Gupta I could not have been the cause of his defeat, as he died in the course of the campaign he had undertaken (slain by his own son, Samudra, if we are to believe the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*). Samudra Gupta himself does not seem to have been responsible for his downfall either, as there is no mention of this campaign at all in his *praśasti.* The only one who could have opposed the youthful king crowned at Pāṭaliputra was Kācha, who, as events show, was most successful in his enterprise. This would explain both the *biruda* and his ascension to the throne, while his brother Samudra was still settling matters about the frontier.

In any case Kācha occupies a definite place in Gupta history between Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta; nor has Rāma Gupta any need of his support to stand conspicuous on the stage of Gupta history. The literary evidence in his favour is too great and too strong to be shaken by the lack of numismatic evidence. That

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he also struck coins in his name we cannot doubt; but, in the first instance, they must have been very few, and they have yet to see the light again. It may also be presumed that his conduct was deemed to be so infamous—as a private person taking the wife of his brother, and as ruler flying from the enemy and then granting the latter the most noble girls of the realm to satisfy his lascivious appetite and those of his generals—that Samudra Gupta, having vanquished him, collected his coins and re-struck them in his own name, intending thereby to wipe out his existence from the memory of the living. We can only hope that the measures that were perhaps undertaken to eliminate him from the currency of the realm were not too thoroughly carried out, and that some day we shall happily hear of the appearance of a coin of Rāma Gupta, so as to establish his historicity on numismatic evidence as well as it is on literary testimony.

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THE RĀMABHADRAPUR MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING VIDYĀPATI'S PADAS.

By DR. BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR, M. A., P. R. S., PH. D.,
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Pandit Viṣṇulāl Jhā Śāstrī discovered this Manuscript at Rāmabhadrapur, district Darbhanga and handed it over to Prof. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, who has been kind enough to lend it to me for studying it. It consists of thirty-five palm leaves and apparently forms a part of a collection of Maithil songs. The first song is numbered 28 and it appears in leaf 10, which forms the first page of the Manuscript and the last song is numbered 418, on leaf 121. Even if we suppose that the collection was originally written on 121 leaves only, the present Manuscript has only 29 per cent of the leaves of the complete work. In the mutilated Manuscript we find 93 *padās*, of which 86 only are almost complete and 7 are in fragments. There are 60 *padās* with the Bhaṇitā of Vidyāpati, 2 with that of Amiyakara (Nos. 398 and 413), and 31 without any Bhaṇitā. Of these, 31 unidentified *padas*, 3 (namely Nos. 32,189 and 389) are known from the Nepāl Manuscript to have been written by Vidyāpati, as under each of these poems in the Nepal Manuscript (No. 55 in p. 21 A line 2, No. 44 in p. 17 B, line 3, and No. 80 in p. 29 B, line 3) we find the words "भनइ विद्यापतीत्यादि"। A fourth poem, No. 62 of the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript is also found in the Nepāl Manuscript No. 42 (Page 16 B, line 5) with the words: "भनइ विद्यापति कविकण्ठहार कवहु न होअए जातिब्याभिचार". Similarly, in the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript the last lines giving Bhaṇitā are missing in *Pada* No. 306, but these are found in Nagen Gupta's *Pada* No. 227, printed from his old Palmleaf manuscript. Thus 5 out of the 31 *Padas* found without Bhaṇitā in the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript can be identified as poems written by Vidyāpati.

But in the absence of Bhaṇitā or any other indication we can not be sure of the authorship of the 26 other poems. Of these 25, there are two (394 and 395) below which are simply written the word

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Bhanitā. On the analogy of the Nepāl Manuscript we may include even these two *Padas* in the genuine *Padas* of Vidyāpati, but it would be extremely rash to assume that the other 24 *Padas* are also by Vidyāpati. Such a rash conclusion has been arrived at by Nagen Gupta and Sivanandan Thakur, to both of whom every scholar interested in Vidyāpati's songs will remain ever grateful for their monumental work. Nagen Gupta assumed that the Nepāl Manuscript[1] does not contain any poem written by a poet other than Vidyāpati, but both Dr. Subhadra Jha[2] and myself[3] have shown that there are poems by 11 other poets in the Nepāl Manuscript. Similarly, Sivanandan Thakur[4], who was the first scholar to study, decipher and publish, the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript, worked under the preconceived notion that all the songs found in the Manuscript were written by Vidyāpati, and therefore, he published 86 of the poems found in this Manuscript under the heading 'Maithili Vidyāpati Viśuddha Padāvali'. But the inclusion of two poems with the clear Bhanitā of Amiyakara in this Manuscript disproves his theory. Amiyakara or Amṛtakara was a well known contemporary of Vidyāpati. We find one of his poems printed in the Rāgataraṇginī by Locana Kavi, page 84-85, and this is dedicated to Rājā Śiva Simha, the illustrious patron of Vidyāpati. Poem No. 398 of the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript has got the Bhaṇitā as follows :—

भनइ अमृत अनुरागे कपटे कुसुमसर कौतुके गावे ।
जसमादेव रमाने भैरवसिंह भूप रस जाने ॥

This poem by Amṛtakara is thus dedicated to the same king Bhairava Simha, to whom Vidyāpati dedicated his Durgābhakti Taraṅgiṇī. Two other poems by the same poet are included in

1 Nagen Gupta's annotation on Poem No. 163 of his collection in the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat edition, page 101.

2 Dr. Subhadra Jha in the 'Seeker' April 1942.

3 Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XXVII, Pt. IV. 1942.

4 Sivanandan Thakur in his Mahakavi Vidyapati, published by the Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai and Patna, 1938, and in the 'Maithili Vidyāpati Visuddha-Padavali published by the Maithili Sahitya Parisad, Laheriasarai, Darbhanga, 1941.

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the Nepal Manuscript (No. 175 in page 62 B, line 2, and No. 179 in P 64 A, line 1). Thus, in all, 5 poems have uptil now been found with the Bhanitā of Amiyakara or Amṛtakara. Sivanandan Thakur did not consult the Nepāl Manuscript, but depended upon Nagen Gupta, who has quoted and sometimes misquoted most-of the poems contained in the Nepāl Manuscript. Nagen Gupta was bent upon increasing the number of poems by Vidyāpati by ascribing poems written by other poets to Vidyāpati, but even such an enthusiast did not dare to include the two poems by Amiyakara found in the Nepāl Manuscript in his collection of Vidyāpati's songs. There is no valid reason for thinking that the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript contains nothing but Viśuddha (pure) Vidyāpati Padāvali. It is a collection of songs, which appear to have been popular during the age of the Oini or Suganna kings. The chief interest of this particular anothologist was in the *Rāga* of songs as is proved by the repetition of the *Pada* beginning with कुसुमधुरि मलयानिल पूरित कोकिलकन सहारे (Thakur has read the word सहारे as सहकारे) twice, once under Vasanta Rāga in *Pada* No. 45 and again under Dhanachi Rāga in *Pada* No. 394. Similar repetitions of poems under different Rāgas are also found in the Nepāl Manuscript and in the Rāgatarangiṇī. None of these three precious old manuscripts, containing a large number of Vidyāpati's poems, should be accepted as a collection of Vidyāpati's poems alone. In the interest of linguistics as well as of arriving at a correct estimate of Vidyāpati's poetic gift, it is absolutely necessary to find out the poems which can be accepted without the least doubt as the work of the great poet.

The Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript possesses unique value in this respect. Though many of its pages are missing and some are torn, mutilated and rendered indistinct, yet, this is the only old Manuscript found uptil now in the Indian Union, which contains as many as 60 *Padas* with the distinct Bhanitā of Vidyāpati and 5 others which are also known to have been written by him. The Rāgataraginī contains only 51 of the genuine *Padas* of Vidyāpati. Of the 93 *Padas* found in the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript I have been able to trace one (No. 305 of this Manuscript) in Rāgataraṅginī (p. 54) but there are important variations of reading in the two Manuscripts and the Rāgataraṅginī neither gives the Bhaṇitā, nor does Locana Kavi, its compiler, give

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any indication of its being composed by Vidyāpati. Nagen Gupta, therefore, could not include this poem in his collection. But the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript gives the complete Bhanitā of Vidyāpati and as such leaves no doubt of its genuineness. 14 poems of this Manuscript are found printed with some variations in Nagen Gupta's collection. Of these, 10 were found by Gupta in the Nepāl Manuscript and 4 in his Palmleaf Manuscript. The Palmleaf Manuscript of Gupta was stolen away from the Calcutta University Manuscript Department and is thus lost to the World. There are two other poems in the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript—Nos. 30 and 62 which are found in the Nepāl Manuscript—Poem No. 230 in p. 82 B, line 4 and No. 42 in p. 16 B, line 5—, but none of these two poems is found in Nagen Gupta's collection. In all 12 poems of the Nepāl Manuscript are found in the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript As many as 50 of the poems of Vidyāpati found in the latter Manuscript were never printed before in any of the editions of Vidyāpati's *Padas*. If the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript disappears like other old Manuscripts containing Vidyāpati's songs, future scholars may suspect the genuineness of these 50 beautiful poems by Vidyāpati. This is one of the reasons for which the Patna University should, not only acquire and preserve the Manuscript, but also take a photo of the complete Manuscript, as without the Photo-copy the original Manuscript may become absolutely illegible in a few years.

There are some other weighty reasons for the careful preservation of the Manuscript. The Manuscript is not written by one person. The writings of four different copyists are discernible in the Manuscript. Expert epigraphists may examine it with a view to find out the respective age of each of the copyists. But this much is certain that no writing in this Manuscript is less than two hundred years old. Dr. A. P. Banerjee-Śāstrī, to whom I showed the Manuscript agreed with this view of mine. The Palm-leaves on which the songs are written are also not of the same age. For example, a few leaves after 109, in which poem No. 382 begins, appear to have been re-written on leaves, not so old as the rest. There are moreover, certain poems, which Sivanandan Thakur could not decipher and therefore, left out, as for example poem No. 410 which bears the Bhaṇitā of Vidyāpati and is dedicated to Kumāra Amarasiṁha. None of the poems of

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Vidyāpati found in the Nepāl Manuscript and in the Rāgataraṅgiṇī is dedicated to Kumāra Amarasiṁha and as such the poem is likely to throw new light on the patrons of the poet. Sivanandan Thakur has entirely left out *Padas* numbering 83, 84, 85, 161, 186 and 188, though they are partially legible. *Pada* No. 186 is printed by Thakur as a complete one, but the Manuscript contained other lines of the *Pada* as the page comes to an end with the word 'दारूण'। The Nepāl Manuscript (No. 44, page 17B, line 3) gives only 6 lines of the poem.* In many other *Padas* I find that the reading of Sivanandan Thakur does not tally with my reading of the Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript. For all these reasons the Manuscript should be acquired by the University and facilities should be given to scholars to study it thoroughly without risk of damaging the brittle palm-leaves on which it is written.

*The Rāmabhadrapur Manuscript gives only one line after the sixth and is still incomplete. A future researcher may be fortunate enough to discover the rest of the poem.

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KESARIBEḌĀ COPPER PLATE GRANT OF MAHĀRĀJA ARTHHAPALI BHAṬṬARAKA OF THE NALA FAMILY.

By G. RAMADAS.

In the year 1944, my friend, Talisetty Ramarao (now dead) was the Assistant Diwan of Jeypore estate (Koraput District, Orissa) having jurisdiction over the whole of the western half of the upper division. In the month of February of that year, the amein of Umar kot ṭhāna wrote that a set of copper plates was discovered in a forest adjoining the village, Kēsaribēda, and that it was carefully secured with the headman of the village. Ramarao took me in his car to Umarkot and thence to the village. We proceeded in country bullock carts. The pujāri of the village (a forest tribe) brought the set. Without reading what it contained, we went to examine the place where the plates were said to have been found. A mango tree was shown at the foot of which they were found exposed on the ground. Then we explored the forest and found five mounds of rubble and pieces of brick and still further a tank about 100 yards square. The description of the mounds, the excavations made thereon, and what discoveries were made are all described in my paper. 'The Pushkari (Telugu Bharati, June 1944, J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXIII Nos. 1 & 11).

From Jeypore, I sent the plate to the Government Epigraphist for registration. He kindly sent me the following note :—

"The set consists of three copper plates strung together on a copper ring. The ring was cut[1] when the plates were received in the office for examination. The circumference and diameter of the ring are about 7·4″ and 2″ respectively. The ring is fixed in a thick and somewhat oval shaped mass of copper at the top of which are three square holes in a line. The plates measure roughly 7·5″ in length and 1·5″ in breadth each. The corners are rounded off

1 The ring was cut by me to read the inscription.

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lending them the appearance of the palm-leaves of a manuscript. The plates contain to their proper right hand a hole having a diameter of 1/5" for the ring to pass through. The plates together with the ring weigh 34-75 tolas. The weight of the ring alone is 6·75 tolas."

As noted by the Government Epigraphist the set consists of three plates. The writing is, except on the outer face of the first plate, on both the faces of each plate. Each face contains three lines but the outer face of the last plate has only two lines. In all there are fourteen lines of inscription.

The Alphabet is of the scooped out box-head type seen in Chamack plates of Pravarasena II (I. A. Vol. XII p. 238); of the Nala inscription at Podāgadh (E. I. Vol. XXI No. 24). But some letters and the vowel signs show that the present charter is older. The size of the plates and the number of lines on each face of the plates show a great antiquity. The size, form of the plates together with the number of lines on each face is an important item in fixing the age of the charter.

(1) Maṭṭapād plates of Dāmodaravarman (E. I. Vol. XVII p. 327) contains only two lines of writing on each face which measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.

(2) Kantēru plates[1] of Vijayaskandavarman, Sālankayāna (E. I. Vol. XXV No. 7) contains three lines on each face of about $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{4}{5}''$.

(3) Peddavēgi plates of Sālankāyana Nandivarman (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I) contains three lines on each face of size $6\frac{4}{5}'' \times 2\frac{1}{10}''$.

(4) Korōshaṇda copper plates of Viśakharvarma (E. I. Vol. XXI No. 5) has three lines on each face of size $7\frac{1}{2} \times 2''$.

(5) Chikulla plates of Vikramēndravarma of the Vishnukundi Vākāṭaka family (E. I. Vol. IV p. 196) is written at the rate of four lines on each face of size $7\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.

1 Kanteru grant of Skandavarma. (The Vizianagram Maharaj's College magazine October 1922) consists of two sets of grants (A) of Vijaya-Nandi-Varma (B) of Vijaya-skandavarma. These measure $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{4}{5}''$ each and each page consists of three lines.

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(6) Komarti plates of Chandavarma (E. I. Vol. IV p 144) is written at the rate of four lines on each face of size $7\frac{1}{2}''$ to $7\frac{5}{8}''$ $\times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ to $2\frac{3}{8}''$.

Thus we find before the age of the Vishnukundis (No. 5), the royal charters were written with three lines on each face. The Vishnukuṇḍi Vākāṭakas and the Sarabhapura Vākāṭakas must have been Vākāṭaka families who had immigrated into the country south of the Godavary when their imperialism had been crushed by Samudragupta. It may be taken that the charters with four lines on each page were of the times subsequent to A. D. 350 the last year of Samudragupta's campaigns. Those of three lines were of the times before that year. The Matpad plates (No. 1) must be more ancient than the Kantreu plates.

Then we consider the palæography. Compared with the letters of the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (E. I. Vol. VIII No. 6) those of our plates appear to be at least a century later.

The Peddavēgi plates of Sālaṅkāyana Nandivarman II say that Hastivarma was the great-grand-father of the donor of the grant and he is identified with Hastin of Vengi who was defeated by Samudragupta[1] (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I p. 92 ff) Samutragupta's invasion is on all hands assigned to A. D. 348-350. Taking A. D. 349 to be the year of conquest of Vēngi by the Gupta conqueror, and allowing a period of twenty-five years for each of the predecessors of Vijayanandivarman, he must have been ruling Vēṅgi in (cir) 399 A. D. or A. D. 400. On palæographical authority the script of the present grant is older than that of the Peddavēgi plates.

Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka of the present charter, being identical with Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka mentioned in the Rithapur plates of Bhavaṭṭa Varma (E. I. Vol. XIX No. 17,) was the grandfather of the donor of the Rithapur plates. This Bhavaṭṭavarma, or Bhavadattavarma, was the father of Skandavarma of the Podāgadh inscription. It is said therein that the Nala kingdom was lost during the time of Bhavadattavarma As the Nala kingdom was called

1. The Vizianagram Maharajah's College Magazine. Oct. 1922. p. 48 M. E. R. 1924-25 p. 74.

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Kosala and the lord of which was Mahēndra at the time of Sāmudra-gupta's invasion,[2] this *Mahendra* was the royal title of Bhavadatta (Bhavaṭṭa) Varma. So Arthapati Bhaṭṭaraka, the donor of our plates is older by at least a generation of 25 years. Consequently he must be ruling before A. D. 324.

While studying the text of the charter more evidences come out to prove that Arthhapati Bhattāraka was reigning in the middle of the third century A. D. The charter is a short and simple document written in Sanskrit prose, except the one imprecatary verse in the end. It is issued from *Pushkari* which I identified with the present village, Podāgadh. [Bharati (*Telugu*) June 1944] and (J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXIII Nos. 1 & 11) Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka, the donor belonged to the family of king Nala.

We have at present, together with our plates, four epigraphs to confirm that the kings of the Nala family once ruled over Kosala, in the country now called the Central Provinces. They are :

1. The present charter of the Mahārāja Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka.

2. The Rithapur plates of Bhavaṭṭa (Bhavadatta) Varma.

3. The Nala inscription at Podagadh.

4. The Rajim Stone inscription of Vilāsatunga (E. I. Vol. XXVI No. 17).

The Gold coins of three kings of the Nala Dynasty (Journal of the Num. Society of India No. 1, 1939) not only corroborate the reign of the rulers mentioned in the first two epigraphs but supplies the name of a third ruler Varāharāja. Two other rulers are mentioned in the Susunia Rock inscription (E. I. Vol. XIII. p. 133) Mahārāja Singhavarma and his son Chandavarma were said to be of Pushkari (*Pushkaranādhipati*). I consider them from the name of their kingdom, to be the scions of the Nala family. The letters bha, ha, na show that the inscription belongs to the

2 All this I diseussed in my 'A Note on the Rithapur plates of Bhavaṭṭavarma contributed to the NIA.

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time between Varāharāja and Vilāsatunga. Though the relationships of all these, except that of the first three is not known, we have now the names of seven kings of the Nala family. If is said in the Purānās that the Nala kings ruled for nine generations (Pargiter Dyn. of Kali age). They are said to be valorous and of great prowess.

1. 1. *Mahsevara mahāsen-āti-srashṭa-rājya-vibhhavah*, this expression is found in the Rithapur plates of Bhavatta Varma also. It is also found on the seal No. 25, Excavation at Bhita (A. S. R. 1912) Marshall says, in note 3, that the appellation *Mahesvara mahāsen—āti srishṭa rājya* is significant. But he fails to understand the real significance and believed that the rulers, before their coronation surrendered their royal insignia to the god *'ishṭa devata*) and took them back considering themselves as agents. (op. cit.) But pleaded his 'inability to quote any reference to any such custom in the literature. (Note 4) Jayaswal says, 'and in the seal the prince claims that his royalty had been dedicated to *Maheśvara* (*i. e. Lord Siva*) and his son *Mahāsena*' (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX. p. 296).

If dedication was the intention, why should it be dedicated to both the father and the son? The father *lord siva* is supreme to all. Secondly if both the Vākātakas (seal No. 25) and the Nalas dedicated their sovereignty to Mahāsēna why do they not mention in any connection that their standard or emblem was pea-cock ; nor do their seals or coins show the peacock as the bull is shown stamped on them. The interpretation given by the above-mentioned two scholars does not seem to be tenable.

Rājyah means the administration of a country *vibhvah* means the supreme authority. The expression *Rājya-Vibhavah* means the supreme authority to administer a kingdom. The whobe expression means (who has) ereated the suporeme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) *Mahesvara* and *makāsena*.

Maheśvra is defined thus in the *Varadātantram* (*sabaa-kalpa-druma*)

"*Laksh-ādhipatyam-rājyam- syāt samrājyam dasa-lakshake*

Sata-laksham-mahèśāni-mahā sāmrājya-muchyate"

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Lordship over one lakh (of men) makes a *rājyam* ; over ten lakhs, sāṁrājyam ; over one hundred lakhs, *maheśa* and that is called *mahā-sāmrājyam*.

Maheśa or *Maheśvara* does not refer to the creed of the rule rbut to his lordship over one hundred lakhs of people. Pravarasēnā I was *saṁrāt* i. e. lord over ten lakhs of men while his son, Gautamiputra was *mahāsāmrat* i. e. lord over one hundred lakhs of men. So was our Mahārāja Arthhap ati Bhaṭṭāraka.

Then who was *Mahāsena*. The meaning of this appellation is explained in *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. Act II. p. 418 (Suktānkar Memorial Volume II.)

Vāsavadatta: I shall be rude O, would be bride of Mahāsēna's son.

Padmāvati : And who may this *Mahāsena* be ?

Vasava :—There is a king, Pradyota of Ujjain who, on aecount of the vast army is known as *mahā Sena*.

So *mahāsena* signifies the office of the Commander-in-Chief of the army. *Mahāsena* is one of the several officers of a kingdom mentioned on the wooden pillar inscription (E. I. Vol.-XVIII, No. 19).

For the benefit of the people, the kingdom musb have seven limbs or departments and they are mentioned is *Sabda-Ratnāvali* :—

Parasy—aivōpakā—rīdam saptāṅgam rājya—muchyate.
Amātya rāshtṛa durgāṇi kośā daṇḍa—ścha pañchamah ।
Etāh prakṛutyā—stadva—dvijigīshō=rudāhṛutah ॥
Etāh pañcha tathhā mitram saptamam prithhivīpatih ॥
Sapta prakṛutikam rājyam-itya-vöcha Brihaspatih ॥
Paura—śrēṇi tadangā-scha brivatē śabda-vēdiṅah ।
Svā-my-amātya suhrit kosho rāshtṛam durgam balam tathha ।
Paura—śrēṇī cha rājyāṅgam prakṛiti-scha bhāvēdvayam ॥

Prakriti means *Mūlakāranam i. e.*, the essential factors.

1 Raghuvamsam Canto I Sl. 60 "*Upapannaṁ na me Sivaṁ sapta-svaṅteshu yaśya met saptsvaṅgeshu-swámy-amāty-ādishu: "Svā-myamātya suhṛit-kosa-rāshtra-durga-balāni cha 1 Sapt-āṅgāni ity-Amraah" Mallinādha's Commentary*).

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Therefore the king cannot exercise supreme administration in the country unless he is backed by the other six functionaries. Of them the army (balam) is next to the king. Instead of enumerating all the essential seven functionaries of the administration, the king and the commander-in-chief are mentioned in the expression implying that the remaining officers also were included in it. The Mahārajā of Pushkari had the supreme administration (rājyah) having created all the functionaries from the Supreme lord (*mahesvara*) to the commander of the forces (mahāsēna).

In the legend on the Bhita seal No.25 the expression *Mahesvara Mahāsenāti sṛiṣṭha rajyah*, must have been adapted from the eulogy of the rulers of Kosala, *i. e.*, of the Nala dynasty. At the Vākātaka depth (Jayaswal) of the Excavations at Bhīta is found the seal No.29[1], the legend on which is read by Marshall as [Bhaṭṭā] raka Mahārāja and he feels for the omission of the name of the Mahārāja. Jayaswal took great pains to show that the letters read as *raka* really read *taka* and also to show thereby that it was a Vākāṭaka seal. I examined the seal under a strong magnifier and found the reading of Marshall was correct. The device on the seal shows a 'standard with streamers.' It has three arms from each of which hangs a streamer. This standard is not found on the Vākāṭaka seals or coins. Their standard was *Vṛsha-dhwaja* while that of the Nala Kings was *tri-patāka dhwaja*. From the picture, this dhwaja can be conceived. To the right of the standard is a lamp stand and to the left are two figures which Jayaswal read to be 37, the year in which the coin was struck. From a study of the legend and the devices I am convinced that the seal was issued by the Nala Mahārāja Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka.

The present charter is dated (l-13) *58 Samvat mārgaśira māsa* amāvāśyam. The date of the Bhita seal No.28 as well as this date

1 A lump of clay with two impressions :—

(a) Irregular area $\frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$. Standard with streamers. This symbol also occurs on one of the Basarh seals (note I A. S. R 1903 1904 Pl. XLII, 54) uncertain devices on each side of the flag Legend in northern characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. [*Bhaṭṭaraka Mahārājadhiraja*] the name of the Mahāraja is missing.

(b) Couchant bull. Above crescent and sun no legend. 23rd room. 11 below surface (Excavations at Bhita).

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appears to have been reckoned from the time of the founding of the *rājya* of the Nala dynasty. As said above, A. D. 324 is taken to be the last year of Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka; the initial date of the dynasty will be about A. D. 253 ; for, Rithapur plates of Bhavadattavarma are dated in the 11th year of the King who is identified with *Mahendra* of Kosala of the time of Samudragupta ; a period of 25 years is allowed to the father of Bhavadattavarma and 60 years to Arthhapati Bhaṭṭaraka. Thus the beginning of the last mentioned *Māhārāja's* rule will be 11+25+60=96 years previous to A. D. 349, the year of Samudragupta's conquest of Kosala. It is A. D. 253. This year is only 5 years later than A. D. 248 estimated by Jayaswal as the initial year of the Vākāṭaka rule ; and 22 years earlier than A. D. 275 given by him for the *Haritiputra Mānavyās* i. e., 'the dynasty called in modern text books, the Chuṭu dynasty' (Jayaswal p 88).

Jayaswal included Māhishi, Mēkala, Kosala and Vidūra in the states subordinate to the Vākāṭakas. If the Māhishi and Mekala feudatories were powerful why did Samudragupta make *Ko ala* his first target ? It appears that it was his stratagical policy to reduce the Nala power which was more powerful than the Vākāṭakas in the Western ranges of the Vindhyas. It was, perhaps, the Nalas that had been supporting the Vākāṭakas. Bhavadattavarma issued his grant of Rithapur from Nandivardhana, his western seat of Government. After he lost the eastern Kosala he had retired to Nandivardhana, and gave shelter to Prithivisēna I, Vākāṭaka, after the fall of the Vākāṭaka power by the death of his father, Rudrasēna I. [1]

Mahārāja Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka orders the inhabitants and the head (*sīrshaka*) of the Brahmaṇi grama (l. 3.) that, for the pleasure of Arthhapati Bhaṭṭāraka (l.5) the village of Kēsēlaka was given with libations of water to last till the end of the moon and the stars to Durgārya, Ravirārya, Ravidattārya, Mātrārya to be enjoyed

1 E. I. Vol. XXII No. 33 P. 207 f. Note 1. . "but we have clear evidence of the occupation of Nandivardhana by Bhavaṭṭavarman of the Nala family who rose about this time". It is not so The Nala King Bhavaṭṭavarma gave shelter to his Kinsman Prithivisena I and his family and even tried to raise the fortune of the dispossessed Vākāṭaka prince. I discussed all this in my 'Observations on the Vākāṭaka charters contibuted NIA.

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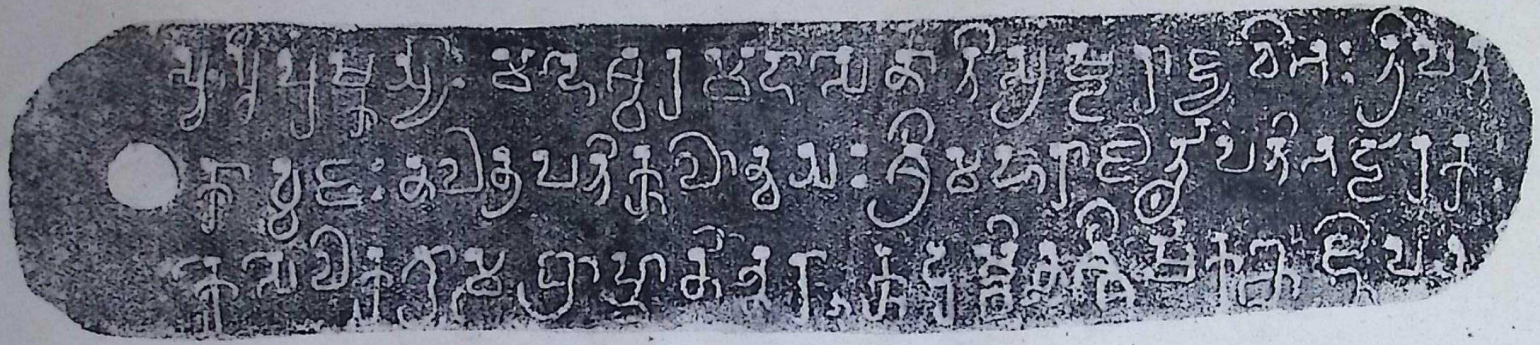

1st Plate (inside) —1st Page.

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J. B. R. S. 1948 (1-2)

for generations (*putra-pautrikam*). The donees were of the *kautsasa gotra*. The land was made free of entrance (*prāveśakā*) fee and all other royal taxes (*kara*) and they shall not be said anything by any body (l-8). Therefore they were asked to begin the work of cultivation (vrūcha-karma) and live with no anxiety and they were to do duties pertinent to the *vishaya* (district). They may pay money in lieu of duty (l-8 *hīrany-ādaya-scha-Pratyāya deyā*).

(1-9-11) if any body, either by anger or avarice, does any harm to the village, he shall fall, covered with the great sins, into the five kinds of hells.

(1-11-12) Only one imprecatory verse.

(1-13-14). The charter was written, at the personal order, by Chulla, the private secretary.

The inscription closes with the sword-mark. Perhaps it indicates the sign-manual of the donor. This leads me to consider that, studied in connection with the statement of the Drākshārāma inscription (S. 1. 1. No. 1239) that the sword had been the sign of the Kosalas. Line 10 of the Draksharama inscription says that the Ganga King Devendravarma, helped by the Kosla army who fought with swords (*Kosala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahaih*) was defeated by Pallavaraja, the commander of the army of Rajendra Chola I. But this sword-mark does not appear in the Rithapure plates of Bhavattavarma-issued from Nandivardhana. This is an evidence to show that the kingdom of Kosala was lost to Bhavattavarma and that it was quite distinct from Nandivardhana.

Text.

First plate : page one.

1. Svasti [11] Pushkaryāh Mahēśvara Mahāsēnā-āti srashṭa rājya vibha [1] tri-patā—
2. Ka-dhwajah Nala-nṛipati-kulānvayah Sri Mahāraj—Ārthhapati Bhaṭṭārakah
3. Kēsēlaka-grāmē Brāhmani-nnarān [2] kutuṁbina-śśīrshak-āneh-ājñāpayati [3] [:—]

1 Read *Vibhavah*.

2 n is small and is written at the foot to denote the n sound.

3 There is no ñ below *ja*.

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second plate : page two.

4. Yūya-masmābhi-(h) kautsasa-gōttrāya [1] Durgg-aryyāya, Ravirāryyāya Ravi-dattāryyāya Māttri-rāryyaya [2] putra pautrikam.

5. Arthhapati Bhaṭṭārakasy-ānugrahā [3] mrthha [4] [ṁ] udaka-pūrvva-datta [h] ā-chandra-tāraka mabhaṭa-pravēśa sarvvā-kara—

6. visarjjitah [1] ā-vah na kēna-chit [5] kiñchi-dvaktavyah yatah bhavadbhih.

Second plate : paga three.

7. Brucha-karman—ārambhah anirvrata viśvastai-rvastavyah [1] visha-yochita seha śuśrūsā [2].

8 kartavyō hiranyādaya—scha pratyāya dēyāh ['] tata-scha Bhaṭṭaraka-rājasya.

9. pyāyanaa—asmābhih pari-tushṭa-rddatta [1]yah kaschit vyapētā dharmmah.

Third plate : page four.

10. rāgā-dvöhā-tpralobhā-dvā grāmē kiñehi-tpralípayēt sā mahāpātaka.

11. yuktah pañchabhi-nnarakaṁ-vrajēt [1] u-kta-ñeha [:—] shashṭi varsha sahasrāni.

12. Svarggē nandati bhūmidah (1) ā-kshēptā chānumantā cha tānyeva narakē vasatati.

Third plate : page five.

13. 58 (?) sa(ṁ ?) chcharē mārggaśira māsa amāvasyām likhita [m] svamuh.—

14. ā-jña—ptēna rahasyādhi-kṛita chullēna (sword mark.)

1 The long ā sign on tra is longer than in other cases.

2 *Mattraryyaya* is written below the line and its place in the line is shown by a comma-like mark above.

3 There is ē sign over *nu* which is not required.

4 There as well as in *datta* the letter *ta* has a loop.

5 T at the end of *chit* is small and is written at the foot.

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2nd Plate (obverse) —2nd Page.

2nd Plate (reverse) —3rd Page.

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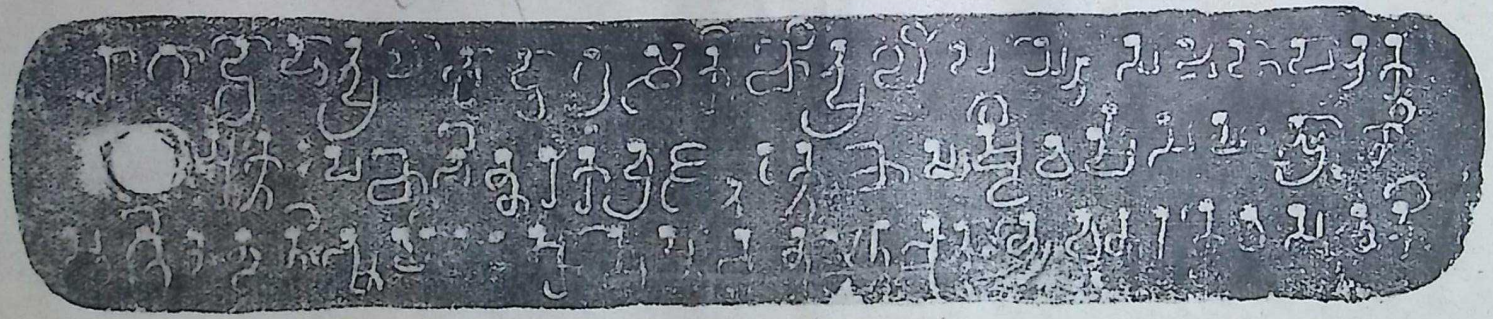
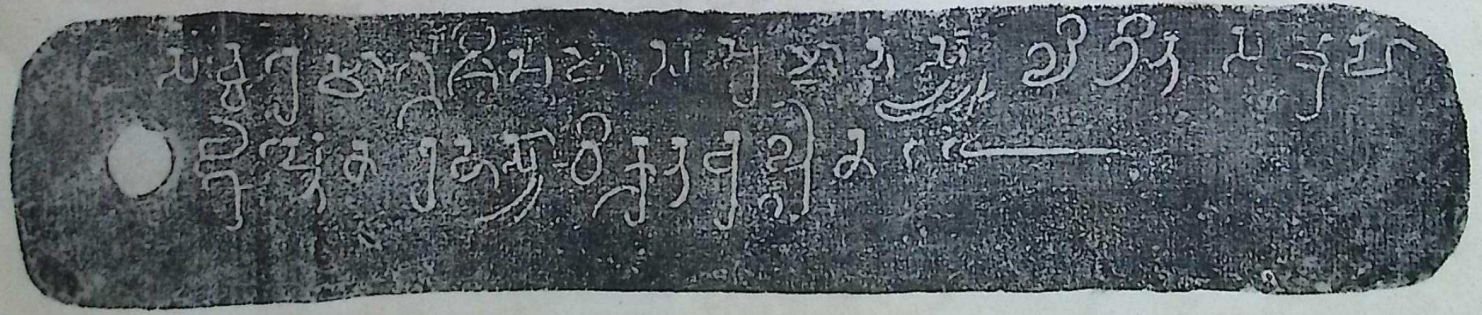


3rd Plate (obverse) —4th Page.



3rd Plate (reverse) —5th Page.

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LAW OF NATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

(*By* HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE V. RAMASWAMI)

"The past can never be effaced since the recollection of it is an element in shaping the future."—James Bryce.

It is often claimed that the system of modern international law is a product of European civilisation. This claim is not fully valid. For the roots of international law are to be traced far back in India's past. Ever since the Aryans began to organise their common life in political units they had felt the need of some system of rules to regulate their intercommunity relations. International law is not a monopoly of Europe. It is the object of the present article to establish that ancient Indians had a definite and in certain respects advanced body of rules governing interstatal relationships.

From time immemorial there had been political units in India. In modern phrase, such units would be "international persons", subjects of the law of nations. In the period of Rig Veda the Aryans were split up into various tribes but conscious of their unity in race, language and religion. The political unit was a tribe (jana) which consisted of settlements or group of villages under a common Government usually a monarchy but sometimes elected. The central authority may have been patriarchal but it was more than parental. Some of the tribes had distinct names, Tritsus, Purus, Yadus, Anus, Turvasus and Druhyus. In the Yajur Veda the Aryan tribes appear as territorial sovereigns. They ruled over particular tracts in the Indo-Gangetic plain. The most famous of these are the Kuru Pāñchālas, Kośalas, Videhas and Kāśis. The outer belt of nations were the Gāndhāras and Bahlikas mentioned in the Atharva Veda. In the Buddhist period the states attained a more remarkable cohesion. We have the traditional list of the sixteen mahājanapadas in Pali works such as Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kośala, Kāmboja. These sixteen powers of India were truly national states. In the Jātakas we find a literary allusion to the relation between Kauśāmbī and Avantī.

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The intercourse between Magadha, Avantī and Kauśāmbī is reflected in Bhāsa's drama, Svapnavāsavadatta. Magadha and Kampilya are referred to in the Champeyya Jātaka. From the rock inscriptions of Aśoka we learn that there were Dravidian states in the South. Aśoka had relations not only with the four Kingdoms of the South but also with principalities outside the borders of India.

The Maṇḍala or the "Circle of States" has been described by Manu and Kauṭilya, Śukrāchāryya and Kāmandaka. According to Kauṭilya, the attributes of sovereignty are "the King, the Minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and friend". From the Kāmandaka we learn that only four of the states of the Maṇḍala were sovereign. "These four, namely, the Vijigīśu, the Ari, the Madhyama and the Udāsīna have been said to be the principal components of a Maṇḍala. This is the Mandala of four Sovereigns described by Maya conversant with Political Science."

Several secular writers enunciated principles of international conduct. The most prominent among these is the Kautilya (Arthaśāstra) the treatise on the art of Government depicting the politics and society of the pre-Mauryan era. The Arthaśāstra closely resembles the books of mediaeval jurists like Grotius, Gentili, Ayala and Rachel. But the Arthaśāstra exclusively deals with warfare on land and does not contain rules relating to blockade, contraband or prize. The Śukranīti and Nītisara of Kāmandaka are of the same type as the Kauṭilya and expound the many phases of the Government of an Indian State. Other less known works are the Nītivākyāmṛta of Somadev and the Niti Prakasika which are specially important as they disclose to us the implements and the methods of warfare in their epochs. The Agnipurāṇa contains elaborate rules regarding diplomacy, spies of war and weapons. The Smṛtis like Manu and Āpastamba contain elaborate information regarding the rules of war, peace and diplomacy. Other sources of law were the deliberations and decisions of Pariṣhads. In modern law they would correspond to the decrees of prize courts and arbitration tribunals. Custom (śiṣṭāchāra) was also an important source. The Statute of International Court of Justice expressly enacts "that the Court shall apply international custom as evidence of a general practice accepted as law". Indian

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writers however did not recognise international law as a special branch. They treated it as a part of the science of statecraft (Deśadharma). They treated international law as a part of the municipal law in other words as a body of external public law.

In modern times there has been much controversy on the subject of sanction or enforcement of international law. International law cannot be regarded as law in the limited Austinian sense as the command of a sovereign with a superior coercive power. "Quod placuit principit lex vigorem habet". But the Austinian view is not valid. Researches of Maine have shown that law bears less and less the character of command and bears more and more the character of custom founded on consent. Pollock argued that the difficulty of enforcing a rule of international law was no objection to regarding international law as having a legal character, because in the early history of all jurisdictions, the central power at disposal of courts had been rudimentary if indeed they had power at all. There has been much speculation about the source of obligation to obey international law. The same problem arises in any system of law and cannot be solved by merely juridical explanation. The answer must be sought outside the law. In India the writers enunciated the validity of law on extra-legal sanctions Rules of conduct embodied in the Dharma had to be implicitly obeyed. There was common subjection to the unifying force of Dharma due to the fear that violation of rule would entail wrath of God. In the Rāja Dharma Prakaraṇ of the Śanti Parva of the Mahābhārata the following definition of Dharma is given:

> "No one in discoursing on righteousness can indicate it accurately. Righteousness was declared for the advancement and growth of all creatures. Therefore that which leads to advancement and growth is Righteousness. Righteousness was declared for restraining creatures from injuring one another. Therefore that is Righteousness which prevents injury to creatures. Righteousness is so called because it upholds all creatures. Therefore that is Righteousness which is capable of upholding all creatures".

The criticism is often made that in India international law merely regulated the conduct of Kings and not the relation between states,

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This resembles the argument that Grotius in his famous book only laid down the law regulating the conduct of princes while Vattel advocated that the rules guided not the princes but states in their mutual dealings. The criticism is not valid. In India the King was not autocratic but he was a servant of the community "the first servant of the state". Sumati for the first time attributed kingship to divine origin. He stated that the King was deity made by Gods out of their own portions. But the theory was inconsistent with Vedic ritual and subsequently repudiated by Yajñavalkya In the Coronation Oath the King had to promise with faith that he would make the country prosperous, look upon it as God and undertake to abide by all laws dictated by ethics.

प्रतिज्ञां चाधिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येवचा-कृत्॥
यश्चात्रधर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीति व्यपाश्रय:।
तमशङ्क: करिष्यामि स्ववश: न कदा न॥
(SHANTI PARVAN LVIII, 115, 116).

Even Kauṭilya recommends a virtuous king to address his army just on the eve of battle thus :

"I am a paid servant like yourselves ; this country is to be enjoyed by me together with you ; you have to strike the enemy specified by me".

(Arthaśāstra X, 3)

The principles enunciated by text books were not merely theories but they were actually practised in conduct of interstate relations. This is apparent from the data of coins and inscriptions, and the accounts of contemporary travellers. The edicts of Asoka reveal lofty international principles. In one edict the King enunciates the duties of a Victor after conquest of an enemy state.

"His Sacred Majesty thus says: All men are as my children ; as, on behalf of my own children, I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness both in this world and the next, the same I desire also for all men.

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It might occur to the uncouquered borderers to ask :

What does the king desire with regard to us ?

This alone is my desire with regard to the borderers that they may understand that the king desires this that they should be free from fear of me but should trust in me ; that they would receive from me only happiness and not sorrow ; that they should further understand this that the king will tolerate in them what can be tolerated ; that they may be persuaded by me to practise Dharma or morality : and that they may gain both this world and the next.

And for this purpose am I instructing you, *viz.* that by this do I render myself free from debt to animate beings, that I instruct you, and make known to you my will, my determination, and promise, not to be shaken.

Therefore acting thus, should you perform your duties and assure them that they may understand that " the king is to us even as a father ; that he feels for us even as he feels for him-self ; we are to him as his children ".

An inscription of Gaṅga King Avinīta shows that customs of the conquered people were not interfered with (Epigraphia Carnattica Vol. IX D. B. 68). In Mudrā Rākṣhasa we read that prisoners were released by Kauṭilya after conquests were effected by Chandra Gupta. From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta we learn that fallen families were re-established on the thrones ; that Kings of Dakṣhiṇāpatha were captured and liberated ; that frontier kings took the oath of fealty paid tributes and carried out orders. A treaty of peace was concluded in a highly ceremonial manner. Kings made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, plough, brick of a fort, shoulder of an elephant or the front of a chariot (VII, 17). Guarantees were often demanded for due observance of the terms. *Pratigraha* or *Pratibah* was peace made with hostages, who might be princes or princesses or ascetics engaged in penance. In Arthaśāstra there is a humerous touch when Kauṭilya advises the conqueror not to accept princesses as hostages as they cause trouble (VII, 17).

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The account of Megasthenes is important :

" Whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war, to ravage the soil and then to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees. Nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on land do him harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors are protected from all injury."

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THE ANTIQUITY OF THE NEWARS OF KATHMANDU

By Professor D. R. REGMI, M. A., M. LITT.

The prevailing idea of the time in regard to the origin and antiquity of this people has been to consider them as only a late comer in the arena of the valley of Kathmandu, despite the fundamental traits in ethnic and cultural sphere which they exhibit to contravene such a conception. The purpose of the present discourse is to show that the Newars existed as early as the sixth century B. C. and that they belonged to the confederacy of the Vrijji clans.

The Kirātas and the Newars.—

It is admitted by all that the Kirātas were the sole occupants of the valley for a long time, from the earliest time ever recorded in history. The same is said of the Newars, and is claimed by them and lent support by various ethnic and anthropological findings. But whereas the former, the Kirātas, have to their support the evidence of the chronicles further confirmed by the Purāṇas, the Newars have not come up for any sort of mention in the above-mentioned treatises, though curiously they happen to be the people to have been closely associated with all what the country has stood for, its name and fame and its grandeur and brilliance. Nobody can deny the very ancient association of this people with the valley. We have definite linguistic and archaelogical proofs for the existence of this people as early as the fifth century A. D. by a reference to the Newari names in the inscriptions, which are maintained intact up till today. The various names like Gum Vihāra (Levi III, 74) Tegwalnarayan (I. A. IX, p. 168). Buga yumi (*ibid*, p. 169) and Thambugangulamula (*ibid*, 171) are pure Newari derivatives. The language of the inscriptions being Sanskrit, it may be inferred that Newari was then thrown into background as up till now it is. Due to the preference of the Lichhavi Kings under Gupta influence or even before and also, as a language of the cultured few, Buddhists or Saivites, Sanskrit was the medium adopted in the court. But under no circumstances

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it had ousted Newari as a language of the mass of people who read and wrote in their common dialect. The priority of the Newars over the Lichhavis in matter of dates is quite obvious and we can doubtlessly assume that the Newars were inhabiting the valley long before the Lichhavis stepped there.

The Vaṁśāvalīs write that the Kirātas were conquered by the Lichhavis. Are they the people speaking the Newari dialect?

This is the moot point of the present discourse. The Kirātas to-day occupy a region cut off by huge undemarcated forests and mountain ranges from the rest of the country and from the Newars of the valley of Kathmandu. The question is whether they migrated wholesale in this region after their defeat or stayed on despite. To an ordinary mind the idea of a wholesale migration inovlving the summary removal of hearth and home from a place where the settlement is of thousand years is inconceivable. No conquest or repression can dislodge them. The same may be said of the Kirātas who when subjugated by the Lichhavis must be taken to have confined themselves to the valley. We must also note that the Kirātas are placed, according to *Manusmriti*, in the position and status equal to the Lichhavis, which shows their distinguished place at that time. Now if the fact of civilisation were to be brought to bear on this problem, the Kirātas on no account can come up to the level of the Newars who have to their credit a very ancient and rich culture, while they themselves have been steeped in age-long darkness and ignorance curiously enough, therefore, the Newars seem to approach the description assigned so long to the old Kirātas. There is yet another point in favour of the Newars. The chronicles and the Purāṇas assert that Kirātadeśa was in touch with the Madhyadeśa from a very long time. If this is the case, the influence of Sanskrit would not have been so rare in the Kirāti language as is not the case with Newari which betrays profound influence of Sanskrit in its vocabulary.

The penetration of Mauryan influence in Nepal is another point connected with the problem. Although of late, it has been subjected to doubts by scholars, we have sufficient ground to believe the entry

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of Aśoka into the valley; at least, there is no reason to minimise its influence on Nepal of the contemporary period. We have Aśoka's pillars not only in *Rupamdehi* and *Nilgriha*, but also some on the bank of the River Bagurali in the Nepalese Terai, appearing like a chain of link between Magadha and Nepal, through which Aśoka might have traversed. The stupas in the valley resemble very clearly those in the plains, in Sārnāth or elsewhere and by no stretch of imagination they can be attributed to other persons or times. The fact that the modern Kirātas do not betray the least sign of eastern Buddhism must mean that they were not the people to come under its influence at a very early age. We cannot take them as representatives of the people inhabiting the valley 2300 years ago who were definitely Buddhists. They probably are not the perople meant in reference to the Kirātas of that time by the Vaṁśāvalīs, though distantly they may have ethnic identity with the other group who later became known as Newars.

We now come to the old thesis that the Newars were the people to come under the first influence of Buddhism and this they retained in conjunction with the Lichhavis for a long time. The language factor may stand in the way of proper identification between the Newars and the Kirātas, but on proper analysis it appears that Newari is not entirely unconnected with modern Kirāti both having various features of resemblance. The dissimilarity in physical features might be explained with reference to the age-long isolation both sustained in course of the past three or four thousand years or to some type of interfusion with the primitive dwellers both underwent during this long span of years.

The legend in the same way may support the identification of the Newars with the old Kirātas. It is commonly believed that the first ruling dynasty in the valley was that of the Kirātas. This must be an allusion to the first settlement and humanisation of the valley by a stock of the Kirātas whose identity with the Newars we have just traced. There are circumstances which definitely go to show that the Newars were not the same as the Lichhavis. No one will admit that the language spoken by the Lichhavis was of the nature of modern Newari. The very currency of a group of languages,

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non-Aryan and unrelated to those spoken in the plains, in the Himalayas and laterly the adoption of Sanskrit attributed mainly to Indo Aryan influence have supplied proofs against identifying the Newars with the Lichavis, though culturally they might have allied features. The assertion of the Vaṁśāvalis that the Malla rulers were Newars similarly seems to be not only wrong but contradictory in view of their admission that the Mallas were emigrants from the plains, whereas the Newars are the original settlers of the valley. The Newars must be identified with the old Kirāta settlers to explain their hoary past. It may be observed here that in ancient treatises everybody living in the Himalayas was called a Kirāta.

First Settement in the valley.—

From a deep anthropological study it has been gathered that many of the tribes now inhabiting the hilly regions of Assam and Bengal belong to one race and all of them had migrated to this region in sixth or seventh century B. C. This swarm of migration is quite unrelated to the Pre-Dravidian race of India, for the Kirātas as also the Assamese and Newars, while agreeing in their own main features and manners, differ fundamentally from the Negroid element which is given apriori the foremost antiquity in Indian settlement. The Pre-Dravidian or Dravidian is definitely a non-Mongolian stock, with curly hair, swarthy complexion and tall and slender stature. The Kirātas are a fair people flat cheeked with long cheek bones, short nose and scanty beards and also with small black eyes and short stature—all obvious characteristics of Mongoloid origin. The attempt, therefore, to connect South India with the the Newars must be discarded inasmuch as the affinity they bear to Mongoloid race of the north-eastern India is too apparent to lend colour to any attempt of approximation by conjectures with other races. An inspection of the physical feature of a Newar will reveal in sufficient manner his close affinity with the tribes of north-eastern India, so that the same period of migration must be taken to have brought the Newars in the valley of Kathmandu. Another people who possess striking resemblance with the Newars now inhabting the base regions of the lower Himalayas are the Tharus who have, however, totally submitted to Hindu culture as to merge in it.

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Why they were called Newars ?

There is no doubt that the Newars are the only people to have been closely associated with the origin of the word Nepal, the name of the country, either in prospective or resprospective way. The word Nepal occurs, for the first time in Indian literature in the work of Kauṭilya who writes of certain blankets made in that country. As to the origin of the word, various speculations have been suggested, the most absurd of which is to connect it with an imaginary sage, called Nemuni whose existence save by the phantastic assertion the Chronicles has not yet been traced out. Sylvanlevi has cited another authority to have enunciated the origin by attributing the derivative to the name of the Aśoka tree which is called Nè in Nepal. The only trustworthy conclusion, however, seems to refer the word to *Kirati* vocabulary. According to the north eastern interpretation, *Nepā*, they do not pronounce *la*, is a name applied to the country occupying the central portion of the Himalayas, which fits in with the geographical position of the country as covering just the central part of the great mountain. *Newar* is another form of *Nepal ra* and *la*, not sounding in pronunciation, to have assumed the changed form which betrays only a slight alteration probably on account of a long usage. At any rate, the close association may incidentally produce an evidence for the antiquity of the Newars prior to the time of Kauṭilya whose utterance indirectly supports the existence of the Newars in the valley before his time. The chronicle alone persistingly calls that period as one of Kirātas under a wrong notion that the Newars came from south India late in ninth century.

The Newars and the Lichhavis,

Much ink has flown on the question whether the Lichhavis are Aryans or non-Aryan Mongoloids[1] Dr. Jayaswal (pp. 171-84,

1 B C. law : Some Kṣatriya Tribes in India, pp 26-29 Modern Review, 1919, p 50 ; Watters ii p 83-5 ; The Book of Kindred saying. saṁyutta nikāya by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp 257-89, Rockhill's life of Buddha, pp 62-63, IA, 1908 (Smith's article) : EH, p 155 (3rd edition) ; Beal's Romantic legend of Sakyamuni. pp 158-60.

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Hindu Polity) and Prof. RayChaudhuri (Political History, 103-05) have produced lengthy arguments to show that they were Aryans. The arguments may not be repeated here, but may be briefly dealt as follows:—

(1) That the Lichhavis had entered into a confederacy with the Aryan settlers like the Videhas and the Mallas.

(2) That the Rāmāyaṇa and many other Sanskrit texts connect their rulers with the main stock of the Vedic Kṣatriyas

(3) That they were regarded as Vrātyas because they did not subscribe to Brahmanical rules of life.

4. That the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta makes the Lichhavis claim a portion of Buddha's relic on the ground of their Kṣatriya lineage.

Against these contentions the following are offered: —

(1) That the mere fact of confederacy with the Aryan tribes may not be in itself an evidence for Aryan lineage of a confederate member.

(2) That, moreover, the confederacy came to be established only when monarchy in Videha had ceased to function, which also weakens the argument of the dynastic analogy of rulers, as in the same period the same Kṣatriya dynasty, if there was any, had followed suit of their Videhan contemporaries.

(3) That so long as the seat of the confederacy was at Vaisali, they were known as Vrijjs under the name of the Greater Member and immediately when there was dissolution of the confederacy, only the separate designation was retained and that perhaps this explains the reticence of the Pāṇini (in IV 2, 131) about the Lichhavis and their subsequent comment at the hands of Kauṭilya.

(4) That they were regarded as Vrātyas not merely because they were Buddhists but also for their queer social customs like endogamy, chaitya worship, etc

(5) That as many other non-Aryan tribes also had demanded relic of Buddha, the ground for calling the Lichhavis Kṣatriyas on that account alone is most unsatisfactory.

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It would appear that a single instance of any evidence is no final proof in support of the argument. The above will show how the mere sharing of Buddha's relic was no factor to determine the Aryan origin of the Lichhavis as there were also people of non-Aryan stock sharing it. Similarly Manu's statement must not be taken without reserve, firstly because he has placed the Lichhavis with Khasas and Dravids, the latter definitely non-Aryan and secondly because he says that these peoples and certain others like the Kirātas had deviated from their original position owing to their non-Brahmanical beliefs.[1] Vrātya may mean impure or barbarous or anything worse without even denoting the sense of deviation from a high rank, but the fact that confirmed. Non-Aryans like the Dravids and Kirātas were deemed as Kṣatriyas shows how elastic is the classification of Manu. It shows how social infiltration amongst all sections of people had taken place as to imbibe definitely foreign blood at the time when Manu wrote his treatise. Just as Buddha is claimed as one of the eight incarnations of Viṣṇu the various powerful tribes—Pre-Aryans or non-Aryans, Dravids or Mongols, were included in the family of Kṣatriyas. By Vrātya " or Vṛṣala Kṣatriya no sense short of non-Brahmanical beliefs is implied, whether it be a case of deviation or a case of traditional non Aryan observances. Manu simply stresses the original position of these people who, he says, were the Kṣatriyas now degraded into filthy life. He does not, however, make a distinction between the Aryans and Dravids and between Aryans and Mongols, which destroys the attempt to base the origin of the Lichhavis to Aryan Kṣatriya stock on his admission.

No definite proof exists as to the Mongolian origin of the Lichhavis, the so-called points of resemblance being rightly declared incomplete as conclusions on this subject. But Manu's[2] branding the

(F.n[1]) १ झल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद्व्रात्यान् निच्छिविरेवच।
नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च। २२।
शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मण दर्शनेनच। ४३।
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः।
पारदाः पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खसाः। ४४। Manu X.

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Lichhavis as 'Vrātya' must have some significance and when we see that in that class he puts the non-Aryans and Aryans alike, the treatment the Lichhavis received at his hands is obvious and distinctly confusing of their real origin, which we have just noted. The Vrātyas ordinarily were a despised people. They required a rigid kind of ceremony to go through to come to the other fold (Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtra). They had to renounce their old affiliations and past after being sworn in the new mode of living. There is nothing like extraordinary in this as applied to Lichhavis. Kātyāyana or anybody else had no hesitation to extend the same to Chīnas and Kirātas, and Khasas and Dravid. Wherein is the proof that Manu's statement implies the Aryan lineage of the Lichhavis? In fact there is none.

There may be a partial truth in the statement that a body of foreigners who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmaṇs could hardly have been accepted as Kṣatriyas. But what explanation is there to justify the admission of the hostile tribes like the Khasas aud Kirātas in the Kṣatriya community? The legend contained in the *Paramatthha Jotiká* as to the origin of the Lichhavis from a queen of Kāśi may be compared to similar legend of the Kirātas, by which they claim their descent from Kāśī Kṣatriyas, This is due to the common tendency amongst the people of India to try to show themselves to have descended from a Kṣatriya stock of Kāśî.

That the Lichhavis were a late comer in the comity of independent peoples is shown by the omission of the Lichhavi republic in the Brahmanical list. Perhaps this may be due to the predominance of the Videha rulers in those areas, for as soon as Videhan monarchy dies the Lichhavis figure as independent, and this fact has found expression in Kauṭilya's treatise.

What is gathered from the above discussion is the close affinity of the Newar community with the Vrjji republic, of which there were as many non-Aryan members, a position, which cannot be dismissed as inadmissible on the ground that they were Mongols, or despised as such in the ancient texts. We know from Kauṭilya that they were existing in his time and though he is reticent as to their political structure or their connection as such, he has nevertheless located all the eight members of the Vrjji Gaṇa in the vicinity of the central Himalayas, so that the probability

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of the Newars to have been one of them is not far inasmuch as many of the confederates still remain to be unidentified. Hedged in all sides by the Vrjjĭi clans, the Newars would not have maintained isolation or been allowed to do so on any other consideration.

Any one conversant with the social structure of the Newars would believe that the Newars were originally a democratic Buddhist people, casteless and kingless. They still exhibit traces of old features. They have no untouchables amongst them—it is admitted that whoever *there are* came mainly from outside and that also within comparatively recent times. They have no class corresponding to Brahmans, the former monks now having left monasteries performing this function on the blind influence of the Tantric and Saivaite doctrines. At the same time the old titles, even formally, of the monks, like Sākyabhikṣu, Vajrāchārya etc., which are more indicative of the original casteless nature of the society are retained. In such circumstances no feasibility of a monarchical form of Government, a prototype of one man's rule, was least entertained. The word *Juju* used for the King at present expresses a sense of mere nodding apparatus without any power or executive prerogatives for *Ju* in Newari means an expression of approval revealed in the nodding of head. The Newars probably believed in the Saṅgha deliberation as in Vaiśālī. It is really unique that an originally turbulent people had disciplined themselves as Buddhists and democrats and to live with the most progressive sections like the Videhas and the Lichhavis.

We have three more pieces of evidence to support the view that the Newars were included in the Vṛijji clans. The first is that they still retain the usual designation of Vṛjji. The lower class people, mostly the untouchables, who reveal definite racial type of feature of Dravids or Pre-Dravids, call the Newar as Vajje, which is peculiarly used to them alone in the most respectful sense. The second and third are the Chaitya worship and the Yakṣa superstition. As these two features of the Newari social life are still preserved, our task is rendered easier in the matter of comparison. We should observe here that these were present in Vaiśalī also. The Chaitya is the oldest form of place for worship. During Aśoka's entry into Nepal, there were many Chaityas and it was probably due to the influence the Newars derived from the common culture which they shared

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with the Lichhavis. The Yakṣa is now called Khyā. There is belief in Nepal that the devil, called Khyā, is endowed with th capacity of bestowing on his favourite whatever amount of mone the latter desires to possess. His picture with two big jugs holdin money appears along with that of Lakṣmi, the Goddess of wealth. Th devil is still offered sacrifices. One does not know whether the Yakṣ or Khyā is a superstition mainly belonging to and originating i Non-Aryan people. Kuvera is certainly an Aryan demi-god who figure commonly in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. He is given the roya position in the Himalayas and as such his association with the Arya people is close. If he is not racially connected, he has at leas a tie of culture with them. Nor the idea of ugliness is intended wit reference to the Himalayan people as seems to be the conclusion o Dr. Jayaswal while he attributes the snubnosed relief images of Sanch and Bharuth to the social types identified with the Kirātas. The ver romance about the Yakṣa as appears in our poetic literature mus dispel such ideas. Like V. Smith, K. P. Jayaswal also bases hi reading on the alleged ugliness of the Northern dwellers, they were however, not coarse and ugly. We have a Chinese account on th subject (Levi, I, 157—61) which has spoken highly of the beauty o the valley of Kathmandu. It was no ordinary complement as it come from one of the acknowledged beautiful races of the world like th Chinese. Whatever that may be, we have to bear in mind that the Yakṣa is only a superstition and no idea of racial affinity from relie images can be obtained or adduced for purposes of any sort o identification. The only argument it offers is the close cultura collaboration between the peoples of Nepal and Vaiśāli, who a Newars and Lichhavis were existing as early as the sixth century B.C

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THE EVIL SPIRITS OF THE GṚHYA SŪTRAS.

(Alakh Niranjan Pande, M. A., B. T., SHASTRI)

The Vedic conception of the evil beings is both spiritual and material, spiritual in the sense that these evil spirits disturb the moral life and material in the sense that they consequently hinder the smooth current of life by harming not only the physical frame but also poisoning the social equilibrium. These evil beings appear in the Vedas and also in the Gṛhya Sūtras in various shapes and forms and generally the scholars pick up such instances of their invocation and satiation as models of Indian superstition or Indian magic. Such instances of the invocation of the evil spirits on the occasion of child birth or ill health are very often declared to be the occasions of blind faith in the existence and worship of the demons or goblins and all is branded as the cult of 'demonology'.

We have to examine such a view and show if there is any real significance in the conception of such evil spirits as they appear in the Gṛhya Sūtras.

The author of Nirukta says "असुरा" असुरतास्थानेष्वस्ता स्थानेभ्य इति वा। अपि वासुरिति प्रथनामस्त : शरीरे भवति तेन तद्वन्तः सोदेवानसृजत तत् सुराणां सुरत्वं, असोरसुरानसृजत। तदसुराणामसुरत्वमिति विज्ञायते। पञ्चजना मम होत्रं जुषध्वं, गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके।

(निरुक्तव-अ० ३ पा० २ खंड-२)

"Asuras are those that take delight in evil places. They are of unsteady habits or they are those that have been expelled from their places or who are possessed with breath (असु प्राणनाम तद्वन्तः). Prajāpati created the gods from good (सु). He created the Asuras from the evil (असु) which marks their character. The five tribes that are referred to enjoy the sacrifice in the Ṛg, Veda (10·53-4) are the Gandharvas, the Pitṛs, the gods, the Asuras and the Rākṣasa".

From such a basic conception about the evil spirits as held by the author of Nirukta, we learn that the Asuras or the Rākṣasas keep their separate existence and are the antethesis of the gods. If

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the gods represent light, goodness, health (both moral and physical), and human weal, the rāksasas represent darkness, evil passions, disease, and human calamities. If we go still deeper, the gods represent the highly developed pure soul distinguished by the light of self-knowledge and a person really possessed with this, being free from diseases and evil passions, is endowed with every thing good. Rākṣasas represent the evil forces of nature and therefore such persons who are subjected to evil passions are treated in the vedas to be no less than the Asuras. The Rākṣasas or Asuras symbolise the evil elements of nature and evil passions that drag the worldly people in all sorts of sinful acts, diseases and self-destruction.

The Asuras (according to Nirukta) delighting in the evil places signifies that the evil passions can not approach the spiritual hearted and can easily and surely make the evil hearted their abode. Even the people whose hearts are free from evils may fall victim to such evils if they are devoid of a truly developed soul because evils are latent in human heart and are prone to be awakened by such agents that are mere causes to ignite their internal fire. The fire that lights the fuel provokes the dormant fire inherent to it. In the same way the external evil forces only serve in awaken the latent evil tendencies of human soul receptive to them. Such persons who subdue the passions through their knowledge of self, conquer such evil passions concealed in their own selves and thus ward off the stimulating evil passions from touching their soul which can in no way be influenced by any thing evil.

This is the spiritual significance of invoking the gods for assistance in removing or warding off the evil spirits or the evil people, because they are detrimental to higher spiritual attainments and spiritual growth. For every thing spiritual the wicked must prove fatal. That is why wicked people, evil passions, and the Asuras have been attributed with the same epithets in the Rg Veda (7-104-2).

"इन्द्रासोमा समघशंसमभ्य-घं तपुर्यंयस्तु चरुरग्निवाँइव। ब्रह्मद्विषे क्रव्यादे घोरचक्षसे द्वेषो धत्तमनवायं किमीदिने।

"O Indra and Soma, let the wicked who boast of their sins be heated by you like a pot on the fire being tormented by you. Keep a strong enmity with the foes of the spiritual people, the eater of the raw meat, the evil person with fierce eyes".

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The author of Nirukta (6 11) explains this as follows:—

" O Indra and Soma torment those people who are ever busy in sinful acts of which they are ever proud and they boast. Agha (sin) is derived from the root हन with the proposition आ shortened. Bear enmity to those who keep enmity with the spiritual people, who eat raw meat, the men with dreadful eyes".

अनवाय द्वेष, means an unyielding enmity that can not be reconciled even by the sages. किभीदिने means the vegabond who goes about searching " what now, what now, a person restless about evil deeds". पिशुनः is derived from the root पिंश as he supports evil deeds and sins.

It is to be noted that the attributes as ब्रह्मद्वेष्टा, क्रव्यजीवी and पिशुन are the characteristics of the evil beings themselves as depicted at various places in the vedic literature and also in the purāṇas. So the gods like Indra and Soma who are the symbols of the light of goodness, of moral and spiritual well being, are invoked to destroy the evil passions that are symbolised by the evil spirits and the wicked people who are the victims of such evil passions are akin to the demons themselves. The evil passions are the agents to the moral downfall and they take shape in the deeds of the wicked people. Even the colour of their eyes indicates the poison at their heart. Thus the wicked people, the evil passions and the evil spirits are the different forms of the evil forces of nature. They are undistinguished from each other.

That the vedic seers fell victims to such evil passions or evil spirits is clear from Nirukta (6·30) where पराशर has been explained to mean a seer born from the ancient Vasiṣtha who was the killer of the demons through sacrifice, i. e. through his great spiritual powers. "पराशरः शतयातुर्वा वसिष्ठः". Indra, the god endowed with the great divine effulgence is therefor held to be the killer of evil beings.

इन्द्रोऽपि पराशर उच्यते पराशातयिता यातूनाम्।

(नि० ६ ३०).

These evil beings have been named differently according to the subjects they attack and make their life miserable by making them

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sinful, diseased and passionate. Taittiriya Samhita divides such evil spirits into three classes : Asuras the foes of gods, Raksasa the foes of men and the Piśācas the foes of the Pitras.

देवा मनुष्या : पितरस्तेन्यत आ-

आसन्नसुरा रक्षाँ-सि पिशाचास्तेन्यत

स्तेषाँ देवानामुत यदल्पे लोहित

मकुर्वन तद्रक्षाँ-सि रात्रि ररक्षु

श्नन्तो सुन्धान्मृतानभि व्यौच्छत्ते

(Taitt. 2·4·1·1.)

But whatever their classes may be, the essential idea about their conception is through and through spiritual and philosophical. The above view of the Tattiriya Samhitā has been cited merely to show that the Rākṣasas upon which the Gṛhya sūtras chiefly concentrate are the foes of men. The Gṛhya sūtrās deal with the rākṣasas because they contain human ends. Otherwise the Rākṣasas, Asuras and the Piśācas may be put in the same category. The difference may be based only on degree but not on kind.

Ṛg Veda (7-104-20-22) shows that the Rākṣasas are of the forms of dog vultures, owls and ugly creatures. They fly about night and they approach women to destroy their offspring. Atharvaveda (4-37-11) informs that they lie in wait of a woman in shape of a dog and are dangerous during pregnancy and confinement. (A. V. -6.). The Gṛhya sūtras dealing with the domestic ceremonials keep in view the said picture of Rākṣasas but the spiritual and psychological idea about them remains unchanged though the vedic ideas take a very concrete shape when put in the proper background of real life.

The evil spirits as invoked in the Gṛhya sūtras pervade the atmosphere and are capable of tormenting the weak. Bacause they symbolise evil, they can attack only the weakminded or those with unhealthy physique. That is why they are warded off at pregnancy or childbirth.

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The day symbolises every thing good. The evil passions generally grow intense in the night. That is why the evil spirits are said to move in the night. The action of the wicked also gains success in the night. So the night faring birds as owls and animals as the jackal whose wild cries are the symbols of evils approaching the human society are deemed in the Gṛhya Sūtras to be the harbringers of evils. As the evil spirits are the eaters of raw meat, the birds as vultures, and the animals as the dogs and the jackals are deemed to be the representatives of every thing evil. There seems to be nothing devoid of logic in the conception of the evils being attributed to the evil birds or animals. In the same way the evil spirits, the wicked people actuated with evil passions, the evil passions themselves and the diseases that menace human wellbeing can all be quite logically placed in the same category.

To enjoy real happiness it is essential that one should not only possess peace of mind and the proper growth of self or will-power but as indicated above he should at the same time crush the receptivity of his own heart to incline towards the evil. At the same time there must be the mental conviction and satisfaction that the evils have been killed in all good faith. Particularly this has been the idea functioning behind the invocation and address of the evil spirits in the Gṛhya Sūtras. As the human beings howsoever advanced they may be in the spiritual sphere, are liable to fall victim to such evils, higher powers as gods are very often associated with the invocations for the evil beings for complete assurance of freedom from the evil doers. We shall illustrate later on how the Gṛhya Sūtras put all sorts of evil doers in the same category. Both the Rakṣasas and the Asuras have been invoked alog with Rudra in the Sankhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (1-10-9.) for a complete removal of the evils—evil beings, evil spirits, evil persons and diseases. The same is the explanation for the offering of bali in the Panchamahāyagnyas in the different Gṛhya sūtras.

Following the line of thought from the Vedas, the author of the Gṛhya sūtras have prescribed offerings and oblations for such evil beings in case of women, infants and also those who suffer from the attack of evil passions as anger or jealousy. The motive behind

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such an invocation to the evil beings is both prevention and actual cure. In case of the cure of persons possessed with evil passions the motive is purely utilitarian inasmuch as not only self-protection is aimed at but the removal of the evil passion itself from the subject is the objective.

The Rākṣasas are nothing but the evil powers pervading the universe that bring all sorts of diseases and evils to the humanity. The present day bacteriology also lays down that the atmosphere is charged with the germs of innumerable diseases that take possession of the human body susceptible to their attack. The persons with strong will-power can never be the subjects of these germs. Keeping aside the philosophical consideration that the evils can possess the heart receptive to their attack we note that the weak minded and the weak bodied have been made the subjects of such attacks of the evil beings in the Gṛhya Sūtras and never a sage, a brahmacharin, a guru, or even a regular gṛihastha. On the other hand the spiritially developed persons as the father or the husband is ordained in the Gṛihya sūtras to administer spiritual, psychic, and even the actual, medicines to the sufferers. The paste applied to the place of confinement to drive away the Rākṣasas is composed of all sorts of medical herbs mostly germicides. (Sankh. Gr. Sūtra. 1-23-1).

Paraskar and Hiraṇyakesin Gṛhya Sūtras lay down an elaborate adoration to the evil spirits at the Jātkarman ceremony. A pot of water is placed near the head of the mother under confinement with a prayer to keep watch over the mother and the child. Then the fire kept from the wife's confinement is established near the door and the father throws in this fire both in the morning and the evening twilights, the mustard seeds mixed with rice chaff, the smoke of which purifies the air and clears the atmosphere of the harmful germs of various diseases. On this occasion the names of many evil spirits are pronounced and they are requested to keep away. This apparently shows that the evil beings are nothing but the germs of diseases pervading the atmosphere whose removal is sought in this ceremony. The weak constitution of the mother and the newborn is naturally susceptible to the attack of such germs or the evil spirits.

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Hiranyakesin gives the entire picture of these evil beings. The whole family with wife, sister, servants are really very interesting to read. Both the human power of the developed souls and the divine power of the gods are requisitioned to crush or drive away these evil ones. The famous gods of the vedic pantheon capable of dealing with these foes of the human society are invoked to render help in case the child or its mother fall victim to them. Thus Agni, Indra, and Brahaspati are invoked to kill these demons; but the strong willed Brahaman who has controlled his senses through his Supreme knowledge has also the power to recognise them.

"Kill them, bind them," thus says this messenger of Brahman. "Agni has compassed them. Indra knows them. Brahaspati knows them. I the Brahaman know them who seize men, who have prominent teeth, rugged hair, hanging breasts." (Hir. Gr. Sūtra. 2-1-3-7.)

The mantra clearly signifies that the demons or rākśasas are nothing but the evil forces of nature that bring disease and ill health but those with strong will can never fall victim to them. The present day bacteriologists also declare that the germs of diseases can only attack the weak subjects. The picture of such goblins is very interesting.

"The night walkers, wearing ornaments on their breasts, with lances in their hands, drinking out of skulls. Their father walks at their head, their mother walks in the rear seeking a vaikhura in the village. The sisters of the nightwalkers look at the family with the rift. She who walks while people sleep whose mind is turned towards the wife that has become mother. O god, with the black path, Agni, burn their lungs, their heart, their liver and burn their eyes."

Such a graphic picture of the evil spirits can never be tabooed as the out-come of imagination. The wicked and uncivilised people who lead a life of beasts, people with deformed outlook delighting in raw meat supplied the ancient Aryans with the picture of rākṣasas and as the above picture of both the male and the female goblins come to the mind of the Vedic seers from the aboriginal tribes whom they had to fight and who were always a perpetual source of making their life miserable. Such a sight of brutal savage life may still be seen

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in the aboriginal tribes of India and its neighbouring islands. Thi is the basis of the unification of the ideas about the wicked person demons, evil passions and the diseases in one thread.

The demons and the rākṣasas represent the germs of diseases o are the causes of diseases, is apparent from the ceremony marked i the Hiraṇyakesin Gṛhya Sūtra for the treatment of the child attacke by the dog-demon (epilepsy).

When the boy actually suffers from the said malady, the fathe arranges his sacrificial chord over his left shoulder, sips water an brings water in a new cup. In the middle of the hall he elevates th earth at the place where they used to gamble. He besprinkles it wit water, casts the dice, scatters them, makes a heap of them, spread them out, makes an opening in the thatched roof, takes the bo through that opening, lays him on his back upon the dice and pour a mixture of curds and salt water on him while they beat a gon towards the south. Then as usual follows the names of the evil spi rits with golden ornaments on their necks and their breasts. I is important to mark here the colour of these goblins that i akin to the various shapes and colours of the germs as invented b the bacteriologists, "Tulā and vaitulā white one and the red one Let him lose... ...the brown one and the red one.

In this context Āpastamba lays down a similar ceremony with th only difference that he would prescribe the covering of the child wit a net (Āpas. Gr. Sūtra. 7-18-I.)

A little consideration would show that the remedy is more scienti fic than religious but on no account magical or superstitious. Th medical qualities of the common salt, water and curds are unquestioned to remove heat and restore the child to his senses. The ringing o the bell is to arouse him to consciousness and to keep him awake Removing the child from place to place is to change the vil atmosphere.

The efficacy of water to cure diseases is an important point o naturopathy and water was ever used to appease these evil beings whom we think mere symbols of diseases and ill health The energ

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of water to cure diseases is again emphasised by Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra in healing 'Sankha' a disease in which the subject cries like a conch shell. "Over a child suffering from Sankh (the father etc.) should recite verses (2-16-12, 13) after worship and pour water over his head with the next (2-16-14) verse in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening.

The healing power of water can further be explained by the worship of Varuṇa who is the lord of water and keeps strong watch over the evil-doers (men or evil spirits). That is why the boy in the Jātakarman ceremony (Hir. 2-1-3-10.) is bathed with lukewarm water with the following formula :—"From chronic disease, from destruction, from vile, from Varuṇa's fetter I release thee. Then to ensure perfect health, gods the natural enemies of these demons and diseases are remembered.

"May Agni together with the waters bring thee bliss Heaven and earth together with the herbs ; may the air together with the wind ; may the four quarters of the heaven bring thee bliss. Rightly have the gods released the Sun from the darkness and from the seizing demon, they have dismissed him from guilt : thus I deliver this boy from chronic disease...." (Hir. 2-1-3-10.)

In the above mantras all the agents both spiritual and wordly, capable of healing powers are invoked to make the child free from the attack of evil spirits *i. e.*, diseases. Agni is the great demon killer of the vedas and the greatest power to kill the germs of diseases according to the science of physique. Water has the capacity to cure diseases. The herbs are the famous destroyers of diseases. Unless the four quarters and the entire atmosphere is made free from such germs of diseases the perfect and lasting welfare cannot be possible.

On certain occasions the gods are also attributed to kill worms that cause diseases both to men and also to the beasts. Thus the Gobhila Gṛhya sūtra (4-9-19) lays down that if a place has been infested with worms should be sprinkled with water with the words. "Thy worm is killed by Atri." हत्तस्ते अत्रिणा कृमिरिति कृमिमन्त देशभद्भिरभ्युक्षन् जपेत्". If the same is intended for cattle one should fetch an earth clod from a furrow in the afternoon and lay it in the

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open air. In the morning he should strew the dust of the same earth on the place infested by worms.

The same is the inner meaning of the cure for headache as given by the Pāraskar Gṛhya Sūtra. Here the disease itself has been treated as an evil spirit and the doctor is represented as driving it away. The head is moistened with water and he passes his hands over the eye-brows of the sufferer with the words, "From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead I drive away this disease of the head. If the malady is onesided. "Clever thou with disfigured eyes, white winged, renowned one, and thou with various coloured wings, let his head not ache."

Now it is rather evident that the invocation of such evil beings was not only meant to ward off the evil passions everything evil including diseases. This is why the Āsvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra lays down an offering to the evil ones in the house building ceremony. In to the pit where the middle post is to stand he should spread eastward and northward pointed kusha grass and should sprinkle on that water rice and barley with the words, "To the steady one, to the earth demon Svāha." (Āsv. Gṛ. Sutra, 2,8,15) The same is the attitude with which Sānkhāyana prescribes a bali for the night walkers during the course of Vaiśvadeva sacrifice that was obligatory to all the house holders (4-9-13). The same kind of offering at the tarpaṇa shows that the removal of the evil was deemed properly to ensure perfect prosperity. The same is the objective when the Pāraskar Gṛhya Sūtra prays Vāstospati to drive away the evils from the dwelling at the ceremony to enter a newly built abode.

It has been stated above that the Vedas have considered the evil passion, the demons, the wicked people and the diseases to mean one and the same. Very often the Gṛhya sūtras have also laid down a similar line of thought. Thus in the expiation for a student who has broken his vow of chastity, the evil passions have clearly been given the same treatment as the evil beings. The defaulter puts on the skin of an ass with the tail turned upwards and goes about begging alms for one year proclaiming his deed. In this way he purifies his diseased spiritual faculties that fell an easy prey to the demon of lust. At the end of the year the two oblations offered to the lust itself

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manifest the aforesaid idea about the evil passions that are the representations of the demons."

" O Lust, I have broken the vow of my chastity. I have broken the vow of my chastity. To lust svāhā. O lust, I have done evil. I have done evil, O Lust. To lust svāhā.'

In the satiation of the evil spirits prayers are also offered to the demon killing gods. So here too the gods are invoked to drive away the evil passions in order to promte both the spiritual and the material well being."

He then approaches the fire with the verse, "May the Maruts besprinkle me, may Indra, may Bṛhaspati, besprinkle me etc." (Pār. Gṛ. sūtra. 3-12-9-10.)

As in the Vedas, in the Gṛhya Sūtras also the wicked persons are also represented to be not some thing different from the evil beings because they disturb the smooth current of life no less than the diseases or the evil passions do. Thus if the wicked person given to anger has to be appeased, the way to appease him is similar to that of the evil spirits. The angry person is addressed as, 'The power of wrath that dwells here on thy head destroying thy enemy make the chaste wise gods take that away. If thou shootest, as it were the thought dwelling in thy face upwards to thy forehead, I loosen the anger of thy heart like the bow string of the archer. Day, heaven and earth, we appease thy anger as she mule cannot conceive." (Hir. 1-4-15-3 ; Pār. 3-14-5.)

The secret of the above formula is that the person who has been attacked with the disease or the evil spirit of anger is no less than a demon and both the material and the spiritual powers will have to be solicited to bring him to mental equilibrium. It also shows that the virtuous and the wise are capable enough to drive away the wrath of anger from his wicked adversary or the foes of those near and dear to him.

But if the wicked is bent upon harming through disputes, he has to be dealt with a bit severely. Then also his position is the same as the harmful spirits. Wordly measures as the use of weapons or

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violence has not been utilised. Here is a remedy which is spiritual and can be attained easily as a matter of course by the developed soul who is surely capable or driving away all evil diseases, the passions, spirits and what not. The influence of the strong willed and the developed soul, is potent enouh to crush the demon of anger and restore moral health to the sufferer. The idea of revenge is never the objective or the evil which is being treated in the subject will surely infect the doctor himself. Here is both self-defence and the spiritual cure. Fire is lighted in the calm atmosphere of the night, in an inner apartment and rites down to vyāhriti oblations with sacrifices of small grains with ājya are performed to gain spiritual elevation and mental peace. The verse accompanying the ceremony is, "Tongueless one, thou art without a tongue. I drive thee away through my sacrifice, so that I may gain victory through my conflict with thee." In the presence of the person bent upon harming, the following formula is uttered: "I take away the speech from thy mouth, the speech that dwells in thy mind, the speech from thy heart, out of every limb I take out speech. Theresoever thy speech dwells, thence I take it away." (Hir. 4-15-5-8) ; (Păr. 3-13-5-6).

It is a noted fact of psychology that silence tones down the emotion of anger and it is significant to note that speechlessness is desired in a man subjected to the passion of anger in the above lines.

The above illustration of the evil passions being treated to be the same as demons or diseases is also the glaring example of a psychic treatment given by the developed souled person who was capable enough to affect the emotion of the weaksouled that is a natural haunt of every thing evil. Curiously enough this is being formed the basis of the present day psychic treatment through psycho-analysis and similar psychological processes. The above cited cure of the headache prescribed by the Paraskar gṛhya sūtra offers an example of purely a psychic treatment and the gṛhya sūtras are full of similar instances. To take one one of the many instances we select one that is laid down by Gobhila (4-9-16.) in case one bitten by some venomous animal. On such an occasion the spiritual doctor is ordained to murmur the following formula into the ears of the sufferer. ' Do not fear. Thou wilt not die." Then the sufferer is bathed with water. Here the treatment is both psychic and regular as water is deemed to be very efficacious in allaying the effect of poison. In this connection we have to note

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the verdict of the psychologists that a majority of deaths due to the biting of poisonous creatures is due to the nervousness and the sense of depression because of fear on such occasions.

Khadira Gṛhya Sutra also lays down the same remedy.

विषवता दष्टं अद्भिरभ्युक्षन् जपेन मा भैषीः इति । (Khadir. 4-4-1.)

Keeping the above considerations in view it is easy to conclude that the ominous sights and sounds are nothing but the representations of the evil that is inherent to them. The evils manifesting themselves through these are due to the morbidity of the weak-minded and therefore the gṛhya sūtras prescribe again a psychic cure of self-determination and fearlessness on these visitations that may cause anguish to the ignorant. Those who call these instances to be the examples of Indian superstition should note that the gṛihya sūtras have discarded superstition through these instances and have laid down a clear admonition that the weak hearted should determine that nothing evil is to happen and every thing will be all right because evils are prone to attack only the weak hearted. The belief of the evils in store is another passion which must be driven away both by spiritual and material help. Hence on the occasions of evil presentation both the gods and the persons with developed souls join together to deal with the evil and the dose of self-determination is administered to the sufferer. It is erroneous to pronounce the entire society to be superstitious. The reason of the cries of evil birds and animals to be the symbols of evil has been well studied in the opening lines of this essay. Here we have to deal with the psychological remedies prescribed by the gṛhya sūtras to ward off the evils that may trouble the weakminded through these evil presentations.

Thus at the cry of a single jackal the idea of self-determination is inserted in the suffering mind to ward off the evil assailing it with violence, "If thou, risest thy divine voice entering upon living beings, drive away our enemies by thy voice. O death lead them to death". Then fire, the renowned killer of demons and evils, is invoked to restore spiritual health by destroying the morbidity of soul. A fire brand burning at both ends is thrown towards the direction where

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the voice is heard, "Fire speak to the fire, death speak to the death." Then the water is touched because it is the seat of Varuṇa who keeps evey thing evil tied to his snare (Hir. 1-4-16-9.)

At the cry of the she wolf, Indra, Agni and Brahaman (one who has realised Brahma) are addressed to turn evil into good. This is another stroke of psychic cure to make the subject understand and feel that the source of trouble would really bring prosperity.

At the cry of some evil bird the same remedy of self-determination and strong will power again works. The formula is very significant. "Like an udgatri, O bird, thou singest the Sāman; like a brahaman's son thou recitest thy hymn, when the soma is pressed; a blessing on us. O bird bring us luck and be kind to us."

At the cry of an owl the following formula is uttered, "The bird with the golden wings flies to the abode of the gods. Flying round the village from left to right portend us luck by thy cry."

(Hir. 1-5 17.)

That the attack of the evils was caused by the weakness of spirit, is made apparent by the fact that the person concerned takes a vow to be strong willed and wishes that divine faculties may develop in him to remain free from evil forces.

Āsvalāyana (?-6-7) puts everything in a nutshell :—

"When he has sneezed, yawned, seen a disagreeable sight, smell a bad smell when his eyes palpitate and when he hears noises at his ears, he should say, " Well eyed may I become with my eyes, well vigoured with my face, well hearing with my ears. May will and insight dwell in me. " A wish for will and insight is the import of the said formula. The mantra also signifies that the physical disturbances as the throbbing of the eyes, sneezing or yawning are the signs of moral and spiritual depression that entail further evils. The physical disturbances as hearing of noises apparently show the weakness of mental faculties that can be remedied only through a gain of mental strength, will and insight. This also indicates the cause of undesirable sounds of birds and beasts being deemed as evil, as they may

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occasion a disturbance in the mental equlibrium and moral stability. The prayer for the restoration of the spiritual faculties and divine powers whose absence is the root cause for evils disturbing the life of an individual are significant while laying down a remedy on the occasion of a bad dream. " May my faculties return into me ; may life return, prosperity return, power return into me ; may my gods return into me." Then the following assertion is important. " Myself has returned, life has returned to me. Breath has returned, design has returned to me. Agni grown strong with his rays, may he dwell in my mind, the standard of immortality. May all that (which we have dreamt) do no harm to us for that has not been seen by day."

The above lines manifest that mind, soul or the self are the root of the matter. It is due to the loss of spiritual and mental stability that the evils assail. That is why the word " स्वस्थ " has rightly been said to mean "one whose Self is all right. " आत्मनि विष्ठति ". Those otherwise are sure to suffer अस्वास्थ्य (evils) that indicates a spiritual and moral dearth. Agni is prayed to dwell in the mind because he is the only god capable of restoring spiritual gain through his divine effulgence Good and virtuous occurances pass during the day time. Develish and evil forces of night are foolishly believed and feared by the weak minded. So moral strength and will power are needed to expell them.

So the fundamental idea about the evil beings is essentially spiritual and philosophical. The rākṣasas and the evil beings are the representations of everything evil. They are the manifestations of the evil forces of nature taking shape in the physical frame as diseases vindicating both the mental and physical trouble. This is at the root of their invocation when the diseases occur. They are the evil passions as anger and lust and assail only those hearts that are inclined towards them. On no account can they gain ground on the heart of those who are strong willed or those that are spiritually advanced. It is the develish nature of these that the wicked persons possessed by them are treated similar to rākṣasas and are attributed with the same adjectives as the devils in the vedas. The greatest remedy to control these evils is self-determination, powerful will, disregard for them, indifference towards their

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existence, boldness and a courage to face them, when they menace the well being of both our material and spiritual existence. This is the root of their conception in the gṛhya sūtras.

Such a highly philosophical conception about the evil beings unfolds the supremely spiritual culture of India in the age of the gṛhya sūtras when everything evil was hated from the very core of heart and the realisation of Self with a perfect culture of senses were regarded to be the only objectives to remain स्वस्थ in all respects during the course of this mundane existence that is beset with evil passions, diseases, wicked people represented by the evil spirits of all shapes and forms. They are just like the द्रव्य कर्म of the Jain philosophy standing against the भवकेम the central force of true spiritual existence free from everything evil and wicked.

So the idea of superstition, childish fear, blind faith in the existence and worship of goblins of various sorts, should never be entertained while thinking about the evil spirits of the Vedas or the gṛhya sūtras. The first and the foremost notion about them is through and through spiritual and philosophical and anything otherwise will surely be losing sight of their true conception.

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THE FAMILY OF THE ENGINEERS WHO BUILT THE TAJ MAHAL AND THE DELHI FORT. *

By DR. SAYYED SULAIMAN NADVI, SHIBLI ACADEMY, AZAMGARH

A good number of historical luminaries who made some appreciable contributions to different spheres of life and civilization are so shrouded in oblivion, that, in spite of all labour and researches of modern historians, it is not possible to throw much light on them. The art of writing history was not cherished in this country and although it began to be cultivated after the advent of the Muslim rule in India, yet the historical books, which are available to us, are mostly confined to deeds and achievements of Kings. There are no doubt Tadhkiras also, compiled by the poets, but the descriptions in these books are sometimes too short and insufficient to serve much useful purpose. Histories of saints and spiritual leaders were also written, but the authors of such works reveal largely in recording in extraordinary deeds and benedictions of the former. We are however grateful to Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, Shah 'Abdul Huq Dehlavi, Mir Ghulam' Ali Azad Bilgrami, who enlighten us on various subjects of considerable importance which we would not have known otherwise.

Still, I regret that I could not gleam anything from the pages of history except the names of the members of the engineer-family of Lahore, which forms the subject-matter of this paper, although the

* This paper, originally written in Urdu, was read at the first meeting of Idarah M'arif Islamiyah, Lahore, and published in Idarah's first report 1935, and subsequently in the journal 'M'arif' (Shibli Academy, Azamgarh U. P.). Now after some more additions and necessary alterations an English translation of the full text of the paper is presented to the readers of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society. For the first time, the names of the architects of the Taj and Delhi Fort, along with the history of their family have been authoritatively told and described in this paper, which has been at my instance translated into English by Sayyed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, M. A., (Fellow of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh).

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Taj of Agra, the Lal Qiláh, and the Jamá Masjid built by them, hav ever been wonders of the world throughout the ages. It is indeed t be regretted that these persons who exhibited such a triumph o artistic excellence and workmanship should remain entirely neglecte in pages of history.

All the chronicles of Shah Jehan's period, while describing th 6th year of his reign, give a vivid account of the mausoleum of Ta Mahal with all necessary details, but the names of those illustriou engineers, painters and architects who planned and executed it t perfection are not to be found anywhere. Consequently, the moder scholars could not so long trace their identity.

The names of certain members of this family are mentioned a authors in catalogues of some libraries, but we find in them nothin beyond their individual names, nor do we know from them the relatio of one to the other ; they merely come as independent and un-relate persons.

Some years back a kind friend wrote from Bangalore that h possessed a Persian Diwan of a poet, named ' Muhandis '. H wanted to know something of him from me. I requested him to sen me the manuscript which he kindly did. I referred in vain to som biographies to learn some details of the poet's life But, luckily, I go in the same Diwan a mathnavi of the poet, in which he had himsel given a short account of his family, and my joy knew no bounds whe I unearthed in it the names of the architects and engineers, wh claimed to have built the Taj and the Lal Qilah.

This mathnavi gives an account of the life, not only of the poet but of his father and brothers as well. A perusal of other Qasida and verses of this 'Diwan' helped me to know the reason, which le this illustrious family to be buried in obscurity.

The name of the poet is Lutfullah, and 'Muhandis' is hi *nome-de-plume*. Muhandis means 'engineer'. The aforesaid 'Diwan' consists of some Qasidas, a few mathnavies and various ghazals which are all in Persian. I could not get any other copy of thi 'Diwan'. It consists of 96 pages of short size. At the end of th

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Ghazal section, there occurs the following line bearing the date when the book was completed.

"It was completed on the 6th Zilhajja, 47th year at the time of night." At the end there is the date, when the book was purchased :—

"The Diwan-i- Muhandis was purchased on the 20th Ramdan-ul-Mubarak 1157 A. H., by Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur."

There are some strophes (Qita'at) in the diwan, which bear chronograms, the last of which indicates 1066 A. H. This leads me to think that if '6th, Zilhijja, 47' is a Hijra era, then it must positively be 1147 A. H., but I believe, from the mere mention of 47 and no hundreth, that it is not a Hijra era, but an era of some Royal accession. Now in the years between 1066 and 1157 A. H., the king, who enjoyed the 47th year of his occasion can be no other than Aurangzeb Alamgir. The 47th year of his accession corresponds to 1115 A. H.

There is written on the first page of the diwan the following line in excellent bold 'nastaliq' letters (i) In kitab sar (kar). Nawab Bahadur''.

(This book Sarkar Bahadur and the remaining words are mutilated. It shows that the manuscript was of bigger size, but its margin was shortened when the book was bound. Below it, there is written :

"This book was entered into the library of Sarkar Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur Hazahr Jang." It also bore a seal-print on it subsequently erased by some one.

We have already known that the poet's name was Lutfullah having Muhandis as his *nomedeplume*. His father's name, he says, is Ahmad Mámar. Ms'amar (architect) is the profession and not a part of the name. In one of his strophes he mentions his father's titles as Nadir-ul-Asar (Wonder of the Age). I have come across the poet's other writings also, in which he invariably calls his father Ustad Ahmad Lahori (Master Ahmad of Lahore). Now, putting all these scraps of evidence together, the full name and title of Ahmad is 'Nadir-ul-Asr Ustad Ahmad Lahori' is established beyond doubt.

Nadir-ul-Asar Ustad Ahmad Lahori.

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We do not get any account of this 'Wonder of the Age' in historical books. But historians have referred to him meagerly in connection with the construction of the Fort at Delhi. Muhammad Saleh Kamboh in 'Amal i-Salih, a contemporary history of Shah Jehan, mentions him while giving an account of the buildings and the fort of Shah Jehanabad (Delhi). He writes—

"On the Friday night, 25th Zilhajja, 19th Urdi Bahisht, the 12th year of accession, corresponding to 1048 A H.[1] at auspicious time, Master Ahmad and Hamid [2] who were renowned architects of wonderful excellence laid the foundation after the pattern of an original and excellent plan which has never been seen by any one in any part of the world, under the supervision of Ghairat Khan, the Governor of that place, and Superintendent of this work", (Vol. 3, p. 28, Calcutta edition).

In the library of the Madrasah, Deoband (U. P.) there is a manuscript entitled 'Tarikh-i-Shah Jahan', (No. 4343). It has a chapter, II 'The Fort of Shahjahanabad', which gives in a few pages accounts of the buildings of Shahjahanabad and 'Shalimar garden'. There occurs the following in this connection :—

"At the gracious orders of His Majesty, at five past on Friday night, 25th Zilhajja, Urdi Bahisht, in the 12th year of Shah Jahan's accession corresponding to 1048 A. H. which had been ascertained by astrologers as auspicious Master Ahmad and Master Hamid, who were expert architects and renowned in the works of building according to the design and plan which was accepted by the Royal Court, under Ghairat Khan (the nephew of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung), who was the Governor of Delhi and was placed in charge of the work of constructing this building".

1 In printed text of Aml-i-Salih, (edited by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State). the year 48 has been printed as (84) which is open to correction.

2 It is strange that in the printed text the name of Hamid is missing. I saw several manuscripts of Aml-i-Salih, all of which mentioned Hamid along with Ahmad.

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There is an incomplete and anonymous collection of letters of the nobles of the periods of Shah Jahan and Alamgir in the possession of Mr. Abdullah Chughtai of Lahore. In one of these letters there are some instructions to Nawab J'afar Khan about the construction of Sarai Bagh, and the fortress of Hassan Abdal. In this connection mention has been made of Master Ahmad, the architect in the following words :—

'The reality about the upright conduct and skill and experience of the kind Muhammad Momin and Ahmad the Master-Mason who in Craftsmanship and knowledge of architecture has acquired perfection and is also well versed in business was represented to the court of kings the place of adoration ".

Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawab J'afar Khan after having many honourable posts, was appointed the Governor of the Punjab in the 19th year of Shah Jahan's accession, corresponding to 1055 A. H. He was then promoted as Shah Jehan's minister in the 21st year of his accession (1057 A. H.) and became Alamgir's minister also in 1074 A. H. He died in 1081 A. H. This letter was probably written when he was the Governor of the Punjab or Shah Jehan's minister, because Ahmad, as we shall know later died two years after in 1059 A. H.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan mentions Ustad Ahmad and Hamid in his valuable book Athar-us-Sanadid in the following words: 'They were incomparable in their craft and only second to Euclids in geometry and astronomy, and rivals to Archmides.'

These references lead us to believe that Master Ahmad was a renowned architect of exquisite workmanship, and had merit *par excellence* in planning, designing and building.

There is a Persian booklet on the Taj Mahal written in the British period by a person of an unknown identity. Its manuscripts are very common. It gives descriptions as well as several pictures of the Taj. There is a romantic description of Mumtaz Mahal's death in the beginning, then follows a detailed account of the expenditure incurred in the construction of the mausoleum, the cost of each and every stone, and the names of architects along with the

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amounts of their salaries, which are all based on verbal authorities and fictitious figures. In the list of the names of the architects given in the booklet, the first name is "Ustad Isa, the wonder of the Age, the designer, a native of Rum". I have seen several copies of this book, all of which have some or other variances in the names of the different persons mentioned in them. It is strange to find that even Hindu architects are mentioned as natives of Rum, Balkh and Qandhar. I found this incongruity in all copies which I saw in the libraries of the Muslim University, Aligarh, Bhopal, Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, and Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. So far as the designation "ustad Nadirul Asar" which is the title of Ahmad M'amar is concerned, it is correct but "Isa, the designer and native of Rum" is a later addition, or it may be that "ustad Nadirul Asar", and "Isa, a native of Rum" were two different names which have been mixed together. The list of the architects, with the exception of Amanat Khan Shirazi's name which is not only found in histories and biographies but also in the inscription of the Taj Mahal, and their salaries mentioned in this book 'Taj' are all open to doubt but it is strange to find that its authority has been accepted without any iota of doubt by modern historians. However, in the list of the builders of the Taj, the most certain name is of Nadir-ul-Asar Ustad Ahmad, who is for the first time brought to light in this paper.

Lutfallah's statement throws more light on his father, *viz.* he was not only an ordinary architect, but was also a pastmaster in mathematics, astronomy and engineering. He had an expert knowledge of Almagest, the most standard book in Greek astronomical mathematics. He was also a learned scholar of Euclids, having thoroughly studied khawaja Nasir Tusi's renowned book 'Tahrir-i-uqlaidis'.

Lutfallah gives an account of his family in a mathnavi in the following words :—

"Shah Jehan, the Lord-conqueror of the world, the light of the family of Saheb-i-Qiran (Timur).

The dome of his royal pavilion is the highest sky, the mansion of his court is a source of jealousy to heaven.

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Ahmad M'amar, who in his art was one hundred strides ahead of the artists, was familiar with writings and discourses of that (art), and was aware of its forms and details.

He knew about stars ; he understood the secrets of Almagest.

From the Lord of the World, he received the title of Nadir-ul-Asar (the wonder of the Age). He was the king's architect, and had his access to the auspicious presence".

These verses give a very good idea of the genius of Nadir-ul-Asar Ahmad and show that he was an illustrious architect, enjoying Shah Jahan's patronage. Then follow these verses which disclose the highly important fact, which could not be still known *viz.*, that it was Nader ul-Asar Ahmad, who built the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal and the Lal Qila of Delhi. Lutf Allah writes :

"When the banner of the king was implanted in Agra, he enjoyed high favours of the king.

By the orders of the world-conquering king, he built the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal.

Again, by the orders of the king of innumerable armies (*i. e.*, Shah Jehan), the Lord Protector of the World the sagacious Ahmad built the Delhi Fort which has no parallel ".

Besides these two buildings, he built other buildings also. Lutf Allah writes:

"These two buildings which I have described and the qualities of which have been delineated elaborately by my pen, comprise of only one out of his many gifts, merely a pearl out of his mine of pearls."

After this mention is made of his death.

"As this mortal world is not permanent abode he made journey to the immortal realm."

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In the beginning of the mathnavi Shah Jehan is mentioned in the present tense.

"The dome of his royal pavilion is the highest sky ; the mansion of his court is a source of jealousy to heaven".

This shows that this mathnavi was written in Shah Jehan's lifetime, and the claim about the construction of the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Fort was put forward in his very reign. In fact there can be no greater proof than this.

USTAD HAMID.

Mention should also be made here of Ustad Hamid, who was ustad Ahmad's brother. He was also very well versed in architecture, engineering and mathematics. He worked with Ahmad in constructing the Fort. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in his valuable book Athar-us-Sanadeed, writes of Shahjehan's fort :—

> " With due regard to the most auspicious hour, architects such as Ustad Hamid and Ustad Ahmad who had no rival in their craft and who could stand in comparison with Euclides and Archimedes in geometry and astronomy, laid the foundation of this fort ".

(P. 3. chapter II, 1st edition).

In the second edition of this book, the above statements are abridged in the following words :—

"Ustad Hamid and ustad Ahmad, who were unparalleled in their art, supervised the construction of this fort ". (2nd edition Nami Press, P. 28).

I have learnt from grey-headed men of Delhi that Jam-i-Masjid (Delhi) was also constructed by this very Ustad Hamid popularly known as 'Usta Hamid,' (Ustad without d). His associate in this work was 'Usta Hira'.

After the Delhi Fort (built in 1048), the name of ustad Hamid is found inscribed, as we shall see later on, on the tourists' inscriptions of Mandu, dated 1070 A. H., which proves that he was alive till

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that period. An acquaintance of an old and respectable family of Delhi told me personally that Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Hamid were brothers. A lane 'Kucha usta Hamid' (ustad without d) named after ustad Hamid is still to be found in Delhi between Dariba and Jam-a Masjid. Their descendants are still living in Delhi, and are called 'Lahore Wallahs' (People of Lahore). Now-a-days they are engravers by profession. In short, these were the two architects who built the Qila'h Mualla, with its wonderful Diwan 'Aam, Diwan Khas, the bathroom and other royal apartments. The third architect was Lutf Allah, son of Ahmad, whom we shall describe later on.

In the end of this 'Diwan' there are two chronograms of Ustad Ahmad's death.

"In the auspicious days of Shah Jehan, the World-protector and Jamshed like.

Nadir- ul Asar (the wonder of the Age) died and wisdom said, " Ahmad the architect went to Paradise ".

When that ' wonder of the Age' and ' lustres of the earth' went to the everlasting realm.

The wisdom said the chronogram of his death ' Ahmad enjoyed a glorious end '.

The fourth line of these two strophes gives the chronogram 1059 A. H. The mausoleum of the Taj was completed in 1050 *i. e.*, nine years before Ahmad's death, and the construction of the Fort of Delhi was commenced in 1048 and completed in 1058 A. H. a year before Ahmad's death. It is just possible that Ahmad might have joined the work of constructing the Fort after finishing the mausoleum or it may be that he was engaged from the very beginning in building it after he had completed the main part of the mausoleum.

Besides these architectural memorials he left three physical memorials *i. e.*, (three sons) also whom he gave a very efficient

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training in architecture, engineering and mathematics. He probably realised the advisability of translating the mathematical literature from Arabic into Persian to make it available to men who knew Persian. Accordingly he asked his second son Lutf Allah to translate 'Abdu Rahman Sufi's (Shape of Stars), in 1050, when the mausoleum was nearing completion and the Delhi fort was under construction.

Ahmad M'amar's three sons.

In Lutfallah's mathnavi, some verses of which have been quoted above, mention is made of Ahmad's three gifted sons, just after the account of his death.

"That respected man has left three sons, in which Ata Allah Rashidi is the eldest".

In the present manuscript the scribe has written (Rushd) instead of (Rashidi) but we get Rashidi written in all his works. Moreover the metre of the verse can only be correct if we read (Rashidi).

Lutfallah writes in his brother's eulogy:

"He is the wonder of his age, well-known in the city, a man of learning scholarship and erudition.

A lover of art, and master of the craft, accomplished, full of wisdom, and scholar of the age.

His works are treasures of learning, his books are emporiums of art.

His prose is purer than flowing water, his beautiful poems are more brilliant than pearls".

The last verse shows that Ata Allah was a poet also, and probably Rashidi was his pen-name After this, the poet says that he received his education from his elder brother.

"I, a poet and full of wisdom, have sat at the feet of that great scholar.

I, who have carried the ball of learning from this world, have received the smell of learning from his garden.

I, who have known unrevealed secrets have found the food of my life from his breath".

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After this, Lutfallah calls himself Ahmad's second son; and then praises himself.

"I am the second of the three brothers; engineering was one of the hundred arts I knew.

Although, Muhandis is my title, which I have received from the king, yet my name is Lutf Allah".

In these lines Lutf Allah tells that Muhandis was the title, granted by the King, which was also his pen-name. After this, he introduces his youngest brother Nur Allah.

"Amongst the three brave brothers, the third in age is Nur Allah, a man of excellence".

He says again that they are all architects and engineers.

"We are all architects and builders; we are masters, *par excellence*, and poets".

After this he eulogises the prose and poetry of his younger brother, Nur Allah, and ascribes the hereditary title of (Mámar) (architect) to him on account of his architectural excellence.

"But the mansion of his poetry is wonderful,
so he got the title of 'architect' (Mámar).
Although he is junior to me in years, yet
his knowledge is better than mine.
His prose is more metrical than poetry;
his verse is more fluent than prose.
Eyes glow with the brilliance of his
language: heart is full of ecstacy by the excellence of his poetry.
The treasure of art has come into his grasp;
his three fingers know seven kinds of calligraphy.
Although I am undoubtedly the master of art;
yet that one and this one are mine. (This probably means that I am the tutor of the youngest brother and the eldest is my tutor).

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This mathnavi finishes with the following line :—

" Although I enjoy the title of ' Muhandis '
yet so far as the knowledge of engineering is concerned we three brothers share it equally ".

This shows that these three brothers were adept in engineering and architecture.

Now as regards the names of the three gifted sons of Ahmad, the architect, they respectively are :—1. Ata Allah Rashidi Nadir-ul-Asar (the wonder of the age). 2. Lutf Allah Muhandis (the engineer). 3. Nur Allah Mamar (the architect).

I have come across another booklet of Lutf Allah called (Sahr-e-Halal). This booklet is in the library of the Madrasa-i-Muhammadi, Madras. No. 2686). Another copy is in the library of the Bombay University. There is a passage in this booklet from which the name of Ataullah, the first son of Ahmad Mamar is clear, The name of his second son, who is the author may be read thus: the second part of his name is (Allah) and the first part is Lām and Tā and one other letter is equal to the word (Ata) *i. e.*, 80 which is the number of Fe. These connected together become (Lutf Allah).

Again the second part of the name of the youngest son is (Allah), and the first part is equivalent to the number of Mota and Wave. The number of Mota is 50 which is also the number of Nun. Now these joined together become (Nur Allah).

The names of these worthies are to be found no doubt written on the inscriptions of various buildings but for this copy of Diwan-i-Muhandis, the family relationships of these different persons would not have come to light.

NUR ALLAH M'AMAR.

He was Ustad Ahmad's youngest son and Lutf Allah's youngest brother. I have not been able to trace out any of his works, but according to Muhandi's version, he had also gained prominence in architecture. Muhandis says :

"But the mansion of his poetry was wonderful so he got the title of M'amar".

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Amongst his brothers, it was he who received the hereditary title of M'amar. Besides, he was a great calligraphist of his age. Muhandis therefore tells of him.

"The treasure of art has come into his fist, three fingers know seven kinds of writing", *i. e.*, he was an expert hand in seven kinds of calligraphy. This assertion can be corroborated by many of his specimens still extant. The chronograms of Jama'-i-Masjid, Delhi, written in Naskh in lengthy Persian prose on the upper wall of the external arches of the mosque, is the masterly product of Nur-Allah's excellent hand. Accordingly, we find the following words inscribed in the northern corner of the inscription.

"Inscribed by Nur Allah Ahmad."

ATA ALLAH RASHIDI.

He was Ahmad M'amar's eldest son, and Lutf-Allah's tutor. The verses of Muhandis show that he was the author of many books. He says :

"His works are the treasures of learning, his books are store-houses of art".

In Sahr-i-Halal also we get the following line in his praise :

" A wayfarer of the paths of learning, scholar, virtuous, erudite, who wrote treaties on mathematics ".

We know only three of his numerous works, which are all on mathematics. One of them is entitled Beech Ganit, and the other is khulasa-i-Raz. Beech Ganit is originally the Veeja Gonita, a sanskrit word, which means Algebra. This was Bhaskar-charya's treaties in Sanskrit, which was translated by Ata Allah into Persian. Its copies are found in the libraries of the British Museum, the Munich University, Nadwa-kul-Ulema, Lucknow, and Sayeediah of Hyderabad. The translation gives his names as Ata-Allah Rashidi bin Ahmad Nadir. The treatise begins with the following line :

" I begin first with the praise of God. After this, I offer my praise to the Prophet, as it ought to be ".

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I think this verse has been written in reply to Faizi. Faizi translated the famous Sanskrit treatise on algebra and geometry entitled 'Lailavati' into Persian in Akbar's time. He begins the translation with the following verse which is a pure sycophancy :—

"I begin first with the eulogium of the king ; after this I offer praise to God".

I have seen the copies of the libraries of Sayeediva (Hyderabad) and Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow. The introduction runs thus :

"This person Ata-Allah Rashidi bin Ahmad, humble servant of God the omnipotent, says, that with the grace of the Almighty, in 1044 A. H. corresponding to the 8th year of the accession of Saheb-i-Qaran (Shah Jahan), I translated from Hindi into Persian the treatise on Algebra entitled Beech Ganit by Bhaskarcharya, the author of Lailavati. This is a book on mathematics, which describes learned facts, discusses intricate details, and deals with high topics and useful themes, not mentioned in Lailavati and not hitherto available in Persian and Arabic".

This shows that this book which is a translation of the other book of Bhaskarcharya, the author of Lailavati, was completed in the 8th year of Shah Jehan's reign, corresponding to 1044 A. H. The copy of Sayeediah Library was transcribed in Muhammad Shah's reign in 1145 A. H. The No. of the copy of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Library, Lucknow is "65 Mathematics".

The catalogues of the libraries of the British Museum and the Munich University give concise descriptions of this treatise. In the Asafia library of Hyderabad, Deccan, there is one more translation of Beech Ganit entitled Badr-ul Hisab, which was rendered at Burhanpara in 1075 A. H.

Copies of Ata-Allah Rashidi's second book, khulasa-i-Raz, are to be found in the British Museum and Oriental library, Patna. In this he styles himself as Ata-Allah bin 'ustad Ahmad M'amar. This treatise begins with the following verse :

"Thanks untold to the One from the beginning ; Praises countless to the One and the Eternal".

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The subject of the treatise is arithmetic, mensuration and algebra. The language is Persian. It is divided into 10 chapters. The introduction contains the eulogies of Shah Jahan, and Prince Dara Shikuh. It is dedicated to Prince Dara who was murdered in 1067 A. H. This shows that the book was written before his murder. The manuscript of Bankipur is dated 1097 A. H.

His third book is 'khazinat-ul A'adad' dealing with some problems of arithmetic, algebra and Euclids. He says that he has written this book for beginners, clerks of finance departments of the state, businessmen and religious scholars.

There is one preface, two opening chapters, ten sections, one separate division and a concluding chapter. The name has a chronogram which gives 1067 A. H.

This valuable copy is in the Bombay University library. The cataloguer of the Urdu, Persian and Arabic books of the Bombay University library tells that Ata Allah was the author of Khazinat-ul-A'dad but he says that the chronogram of the compilation of this booklet is 1178, which is borne by the name of the booklet Khazinat-ul-A'dad. But this is not correct. Moreover this author had died long before 1178. If the chronogram is had by calculating the numbers of the two parts of the names, then 1178 may be found out, but the identity of this Ata Allah will be a quite different one. Ata-Allah Rashidi was also a poet, as is shown by Lutf Allah's mathnavi. His pen-name was Rashidi, but I have not seen any of his verses, except that on the last page of a book entitled 'Sur-i-Sufi') transcribed by Lutf-Allah, now preserved in the Muslim University library, Aligarh. Ata-Allah has written something by way of practice bearing on the science of Sun and Suha (an obscure star in the constellation of the Greater Bear), and has the following line in the end :

"If you name Ata Allah, nothing, even nothingness shall be highly put to shame for it."

These are the literary productions of Ata-Allah, but there is also one material achievement still extant viz., the mausoleum of

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Rab'ah Daurani, the beloved wife of Aurangzeb Alamgir, situated in Aurangabad, Deccan. This mausoleum is solely an imitation of the Taj. It appears that because his father, Ahmad M'amar, built the Taj, his son was presumed to be able to produce an excellent copy of the original, but the architectural materials which were available at Agra in Shah Jehan's period, were not available at Aurangabad in Aurangzeb's time. In consequence, the mausoleum in Aurangabad not only differs immensely in stones and marbles, but also lacks grace, harmony and proportion, so characteristic of the Taj.

There is a bronze plate on the main gate of the mausoleum of Rabah Daurani, bearing the following inscription.

"This splendid mausoleum was constructed under the architectural supervision of Ata Allah, and by Haspat Rai in 1061 A. H".

Lutf Allah Muhandis.

Ahmad Mamar's second son. Lutf Allah Muhandis, has left many works to perpetuate his memory. It may be said that it is on account of this worthy son that the name of his father has come to our knowledge. Ahmad Ali Sandelvi writes of Muhandis in his book, Makhazan-ul-Gharaib, (1218 A. H.) in connection with the account of Muhandis's son, Inam-ud-Din Reyadi.

"Moulvi Lulf-Allah was an engineer. He also composed verses and 'Muhandis' was his pen-name. In mathematics no one excelled these two, father and son, in India" (Ms. Shibli Academy P. 153).

We read in Safina-i-Khushgo :

"Son of Lutf Allah, with Muhandis as his pen-name is a native of Lahore. The fort of the capital of Shah-Jahanabad was built with his (Lutf Allah's) advice and suggestion".

This sentence we find also in Hussain Quli Khan's Nashtar-i-Ishq. So far we have been able to know the names of seven of Muhandi's books which are found in the libraries of India and Europe. But besides these books, he had left behind an iron

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inscription fonnd in Mandu, the capital city of the Sultan of Malwa, on the right hand of the door of the mausoleum of the illustrious king, Hoshang Ghori (808 A. H.– 838 A. H.). This measures 7 in. long and 4 in. wide and bears the following lines :—

"On the 9th Rabi-uth-Thani 1070 A. H. the lowly and humble Lutf-Allah bin Ahmad, the architect of Shahjehan, and Khawja Jadu Rai, ustad Shiva Ram, and ustad Hamid had come to see it". This inscription can be referred to in the 17th Plate in the article on 'Inscription of Mandu', by Mr. Zafar Hassan, B. A. (Archaeological Department of India".

These architect-travellers were prompted to place the above inscription probably because they found dates of king Akbar's imperial tour inscribed here. This inscription throws lights on the following points :—

1. The expert architects of this period used to visit other buildings also for observing technical points of view.

2 The bond of the profession united the Hindu and Muslim very strongly and securely.

3. It was common to call the Hindu architect Khawaja and ustad. Khawja Jadu Rai and ustad Shiva Ram were once popular and esteemed names.

4. Lutf Allah Muhandis, though a poet and author, had such a passion for his hereditary art of architecture that he took the trouble of going on a long journey to see a building.

Lutf Allah's books which I could trace out are these: (1) "Sur Sufi", (2) "Risala Khawas-A'adad", (3) "Sharah Khulast-ul-Hisab", (4) "Muntakhab-ul-Hasab", (5) "Tadhkira-i Asman-i-Sukhan", (6) "Diwan-i-Muhandis', (7) Sahr-i-Hilal.

The first book is on astronomy, the other three books are on mathematics; and with the exception of the second which is in Arabic the rest six are in Persian, of which the first three and the last are in prose; and the fourth and the fifth are in verse. I shall now try to give a short review of each of these books.

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Sur-i-Sufi. The well known Muslim astronomer, Abdur Rahman As-Sufi, (died in 576 A. H.) wrote a standard book entitled Sowar-ul-Kawakib on the shapes and forms of stars. Lutf Allah translated it into Persian in 1050 A. H. at the instance of his father, Ahmad M'amar. It seems that it is the first work of its kind in his life, because it is clear from the introduction that he wrote it not to win favour of any king but to please his father. The original manuscript in the author's own handwriting is found in the Muslim University Library (No. 31 Persian). The Introduction forms an interesting reading :—

In the Colophon also Lutfullah says that it was at the instance of his father, Ahmad, called Nadir-ul-Asr, that he translated Sowar-i-Sufi and that he was himself the translator, Compiler and Scribe of the present manuscript.

On the last page of the book, there are some sentences written by way of practice. It seems that this has been preserved as a family souvenir by the members of the house. This practice, in my opinion was attempted by the author's brother, Ataallah, because in the verse, which has already been quoted in his account, his name is written.

2 *Risala-i-khawas-i-Aadad.*—This is a treatise, consisting of seven pages, dealing with numbers. It is divided into 4 Maqalas, which discuss the value and properties of numbers. A copy of it is to be found in the British Museum in a collection, which consists of two booklets, one of Lutf Allah and the other of Ata Allah entitled Khulasa-i-Raaz which has already been mentioned above ($\frac{16744}{3}$). It begins with " Praise be to God! says this poor man, Lutf Alla, called Muhandis ".

I have seen another copy of it in the Sayeedia library of Hyderabad, Deccan. This copy is newly written and was transcribed in 1277 A. H.

This treatise has got no particular name. The copy of the Sayeedia library is named Arsmateeqi and another copy with similar name transcribed by Moulvi Muhammad Ghaus Sharf-ul-Mulk is preserved in the library of the Diwan family of Madras.

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3. *Sharh-i-Khulasat-ul-Hisab.*—It is a concise commentary on the famous Arabic book, Khulaset-ul-Hisab, of Baha ud-Din Muhammad bin Hussain Amli (died in 1030 A. H.). Its various commentaries have been written by learned scholars, one of which by Ismat Allah (of Saharanpur), the author's contemporary, written in 1087 A. H., is very exhaustive, and has now been printed with the title Anwar-i-Khulasat-ul-Hisab. Another commentary on the above book is by Lutf Allah, a copy of which is preserved in the India Office library. (No. 761 Arabic manuscripts). The author's name is given as "Lutf Allah, Muhandis, son of Ustad Ahmad, the architect". The manuscript is remarkable for one special reason, which we shall mention later on. The other copy of this book is in the library of Rampur (No. 45, Mathematics). This copy comprises of 120 pages.

4. *Muntakhab.*—It is an abridged Persian translation of the Khulasatul Hisab of Baha-ud-Din Muhammad bin Husain 'Amli (died A. H. 1030). Several copies of it are to be found in England and India. Two copies are kept in the India Office library, the third is in the British Museum library, the fourth in the Asifiya library, Hyderabad, Deccan[1] the fifth is in Muslim University, Aligarh, the sixth in the Jame-i-Millia Delhi, the seventh in the library of the Diwan family of Madras (transcribed by Sayyed Mohammad Qasim, dated 1218 A. H.), and the 8th is in the Oriental library, Bankipore. The word 'Muntakhab' contains the chronogran 1092 A. H. In the preface we read that this book was written at the request of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id ibn Mir Muhammad Yahya, a prominent member of the Minister's family.

In the end there is a solution of a mathematical problem in verses which end with the following lines. "Manka hastam faqir Lutfallah—Ba Muhandis Shahir Dar Afwah—Khakpai Hunar Waran-i-Kibar-Pur-i-ustad Ahmad-i-Mamar".

"I am Lutf-Allah the poor man, known as Muhandis (engineer). I am the dust of the feet of great artists and son of Ustad Ahmad Mamar".

The manuscript of India Office Library No. $\frac{2254}{5}$ is dated 3, Shaaban 1145 A. H. the Ms. of Hyderabad is dated 1243 A. H. (No. 211, Persian, Mathematics). The No. of the manuscript of the

1 British Museum Cat. No. 16744, India Office Cat. Nos. 2253 and 2254, Asifiya Cat. Persian Math III.

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Muslim University (Subhan-Allah Khan library) is 511/3. It is entitled Khulasat-ul-Hisab, dated 839 A. H.

The manuscript of Jama Millia numbers 76 (manuscript series) and bears no date.

5. *Asman-i-Sukhan.*—(The Heaven of Discourse).—The Persian biography of poets written by Daulat Shah of Samarkand in 892 A. H., with all its errors, furnishes interesting reading. This book was originally written in Persian Prose and divided into seven parts, but Faidi Kirmani rendered it into verse in Akbar's time and altered the division of the original, making ten periods (Tabakat) instead of seven, Lutf Allah Muhandis remodelled this version and added two periods to make the number correspond with the signs of the zodiac and on allusion to it he gave it the title of Asman-e-Sukhan (the Heaven of Discourse).

All these details are mentioned in the Preface of Lutf Allah's book. A manuscript of this book was in the library of the king of Oudh. Dr. A. Sprenger, M. D. has given a short description of this book in the catalogue of the library p. 116. This book is not to be found in any other library.

There are 250 verses in this book, every verse contains the name of a poet. The first verse is "Nakhust Shuker Khuda-i-Kar Asman-i-Sukhan—Bayafrid Muhit-i-Nuh Asman-i-Sukhan".

In the above catalogue Dr. Sprenger has copied 13 verses of the 12th chapter, which give the names of the poets of Shah Jahan's period. This leads us to guess that the two periods added by Lutf Allah after Akbar's period must be comprising the names of the poets of the period of Jahangir and Shah Jehan respectively. The poets mentioned are Amani, son of Mahabat Khan Kharzama, Zafar Khan Ahsan, Enayet Khan Ashna, Shadman, Muhsin Fani, Mir Imad, Muhammad Hussain Ashob, Kalim. Qudsi Muhammad Khan, Elahi Hamdani, Ummi, Baqia, Fakha.

The 9th verse "Digar Farid-i-Jahan Qudsi-i-Muhammad Khan—Baahd-i-Shah Jahan go Rabuda-az-Aqran" shows that this poem was composed after Shah Jahan's reign (1068 A. H.).

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6. *Diwan-i-Muhandis.*—This diwan consists of 96 pages of short size. In the beginning there are four Qasidas covering 10 pages, the first is the 'Praise to Holy Prophet Muhammad, the second and third are encomiums to Dara Shikoh and probably his son, Sulaiman, the fourth is a description of some beloved. Then follow Ghazals which are arranged in alphabetical order, covering pp. 11 to 87. Again with fresh Bismillah there begins the mathnavi, which gives an account of his family. After this there are two short mathnavis and several Qitas, some of which bear chronograms. The introduction "Tashbib" of the first Qasida is highly forceful.

In the last verses of this Qasida the poet gives the name of his father and mentions his literary and academic interests.

In his encomium to Dara Shikoh whom he mentions he takes pride in his own attainments and also refers to some historical events which could not be traced in contemporary chronicles.

Most of the verses of Lutf-Allah show that he had no ambition for fame and reputation and considered himself higher than his profession of an architect. Thus says he in this Qasida.

"O King! Although architecture is my profession, and my conscience is not devoid of this art; yet now that the realm of my heart is ruined on account of the love of beloveds, how can I call myself an architect".

The trend of his ghazals is the same which coloured other religious poets of the period. The language is here and there Indianized. His Maqtaas are specially characterised by ingenious references to engineering and allusions to his pen-name Muhandis.

The ghazal beginning with the following line is one of his masterpieces :—"Yaran Hailal-i-Id Baramad Nazar Kunaid—Mahe Seyam Raft Mughan Ra Khabar Kunaid."

But for want of space we might have quoted some verses from his diwan to throw light on him and his family. His and his father's names are to be found in some verses.

In one verse he hankers after some news or messenger from Lahore and says that he had not heard from Lahor for a long time.

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This shows that Lahor was his home. In some verses he says that he had a passion for mathematics, logic, and philosophy and also that he was distinguished in architecture and engineering and had academic interests as well.

There is also a mashnavi dedicated to a prince, who is probably Dara, because it was he who was addressed as Shahzada Baland Iqbal (sublime Prince). In this mashnavi he says:

"The favour of the king helps me: otherwise I am ill-equipped with the knowledge of architecture."

"I have read one or two books from each and every branch of learning, astronomy, engineering, astrology and mathematics.

I do not write with the fear of dis-respect, what I have read in Arabic.

If the favour of the Prince of High Fortune be an aid to me.

You must order for his services, his bygone knowledge shall revive again.

If one of his close attendants in pleasures, and comfort,

Conveys this message from this resident of the Court to the ears of the King.

God will grant him recompense, not a little recompense but a great one."

This shows that he wanted to approach Shah Jehan through Dara Shikuh's recommendation. This is also indicated in some Maqtas of ghazals.

In one masnavi he eulogises a member of the family of Ministers who had the honour to be a Sayyed but does not name him.

I think the person extolled in this masnavi is no other than Mir Muhammad Sayeed bin Mir Muhammad Yahya to whom the poet dedicated his book Muntakhab-ul-Hisab.

It appears from the works of Lutf-Allah and his brothers that the person to whom they were attached after Shah Jehan was prince Dara Shikuh inasmuch as Lutf-Allah's brother Ata-Allah Rashidi had dedicated his booklet 'Khulasa-i-Raz' to the said prince. Again, most of the verses of Lutfullah show that he had considerable influence in the prince's Court.

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After Nat (the Prophet's praise) the first Qasida he writes is in praise of the prince :—

"With the help of the favour of the king of high fortune ; the standard of architecture grew higher through me. Dara Shikuh is lofty like the sky and has a heart as bountiful as a river, his hand scatters pearls like clouds".

He begins one of his ghazals with the following verse:—

"If the king looks upon a beggar with favour, God will look upon the king favourably".

There is another verse :

"O King of the time come, and see ; come to my heart and see".

There is a ghazal entirely composed in his praise.

"O, the prosperity of the world depends upon your generosity, and the protection of the world lies in your existence.

By God, who is the God of all gods ; it behoves you to be the master of the world.

To praise you is the religious duty of the world ; listen to the benediction of the world.

The royal cloak is befitting you ; for the prosperity of the world is due to you.

Muhandis can be happy through your favour, O the happiness of the world depends upon your favour".

The word Lutf is most beautifully placed in the last verse.

There is one more ghazal of which the first line gives the names of Shah Jehan, Dara Shikuh, and Sulaiman Shikuh (*i e.*, father, son and grandson).

"Dara Shikuh, Shah Jehan, the founder of the world ; May the sovereignty of the world be auspicious for them.

May God be the protector of your fortune inasmuch as the protection of the world is your duty.

So long as water and fire do exist on this world, May the forehead of the globe be brightened through the dust of your feet.

O, the founder of the world, the world sings your praise, listen to the praise-singing of the world.

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How long the condition of Muhandis shall remain dishevelled like the locks of the beloved; O, the upheaval of the world is removed by you."

There is another Qitah :

"The perennial wealth, ever existing fortune, and everlasting realm should be the constant associate of the king of High Fortune.

From the palms of his hands are scattered gold and pearls. May this river and mine be ever full of this liberality.

His bounty helps the fallen ones; May God the omnipotent be is helper."

There is another Qita :

"Your eulogiser, O King, needs not sing any praise of Jam (King). A man intoxicated in divine wine needs no wine.

When you wish the builder of your palace to be your eulogiser, let Lutfallah Ahmad not be engaged in the works of bricks and clay".

This Qitah shows that he considered the profession of architecture beneath his dignity.

He built the palace of Dara Shikoh for him, as is evident from a chronogram which gives the year 1060 A.H. The verses of this chronogram prove beyond doubt that Dara Shikuh's palace was built by the above poet-architect. Dara Shikuh got also a key made by him. He wrote a chronogram for it also. Miftahi-Dara Shekoh (the key of Dara Shikuh), gives the chronogram 1066, a year after which Dara Shikuh's fortune takes a new turn.

There is a chronogram of the marriage of Sulaiman Shikuh, the son of Dara Shikuh also.

All these verses show very clearly that Lutf-Allah and his family were attached to Dara Shikuh only. Historians can very easily infer from this that the more his attachment to Dara Shikoh, the less his proximity with the court of Alamgir.

In the eulogium of Dara Shikoh there are verses which throw out sarcastic and ironical references to his rival i. e. Aurangzeb.

"Owing to your terror, you will not find a drop of blood in the heart of your rival, though you press it thousand times. Because of the wound which he inflicted on the heart of his opponent from his arrow; the blue sky took away the hue of my heart.

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"In that realm, where the fortune of your enemy is asleep, people have not seen "awakening" (of fortune) even in their dream.

"May your well-wishers ever remain in prosperity, and the lot of your opponent be always stained with blood".

In these verses 'Khasm' (rival), Muanid (opponent), Hasua (Envious) refer probably to Aurangzeb. Accordingly in the revolution of 1067 A. H. when Aurangzeb outrivalled the 'Shahzada Buland Iqbal' and sat on the glorious throne, Lutfullah must have been totally neglected. There is a sustained ghazal in his diwan :

"O King, you do not give ear to justice ; and do not keep eyes on beggars,

"My enemies have sanctioned my murder, otherwise you have committed no sin.

"The entire world is your well-wisher, but no one is more sincere than me.

"O, breezes, you do not bring any message to the nightingale, probably you do not find way to the garden.

Muhandis has no respect, because he has like religious people, no monastery."

I think this ghazal refers to Aurangzeb ; otherwise obviously, he had no reason to make any complaint in the period of Dara Shikuhs' supremacy, nor had he any occasion to make sarcastic references to the monastries of religious men.

In the verses of his Diwan, quoted above, Muhandis has repeatedly referred to his great proficiency in architecture. He says : "Buland Paya ze man gasht Qadr-i-Maimari ".

("The value of architecture has risen high on account of me")

He boasts in another place "Ma Hama Maimar Wa Imarat gar Aim".

(We are all architects and builders.)

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In another place he says that the designs made by him are as bright as sun :—

But the buildings which he built are not definitely known to us. From the chronogram of a Qita'h, quoted above, we know that he built Dara Shikuh's palace. In 'Safina-i-Khushgo and Nashtar-i-Ishq by Husain Quli Khan (1205 A. H.), we read in the account of Muhandis's son Reyadi that "It was at the judicious planning and supervision of Lutf Allah of Lahore, who had his pen-name Muhandis that the fort of the capital city of Shahjahanabad was built". This shows that he was an associate of his father and uncle in constructing the Imperial Fort of Delhi. He writes of himself in Sehr-i-Halal :—

"This son of Ahmad Mamar spent the prime of his life in the buildings of straw and mud".

This sentence indicates fairly that he spent the greater part of his life in architectural activities.

7. Sehr-i-Halal.— This is a treatise in Persian on ethics. It is composed in words none of which contains a single dotted letter of the Persian alphabet. The author's name is written as a son of Ahmad 'Mamar' instead of Lutfallah.

After nine pages in praise of God and the Holy Prophet' he eulogises the reigning king with the words which translated are as follows "Praise to the successful Lord, whose country may live for ever". The personality is indicated in the form of a puzzle.

The name is indicated as follows : It consists of two parts. The first part is made up of Sar-i-Adl (head of justice), Dil-i-dad (heart of equity) and Dil-i-Ilm (heart of learning) and Sar-i-Murad (head of desire), the whole being equal to Alam (world). The second part comprises Sar-i-Gul (head of flower) and Dil-i-sarv (heart of cypress) with Dah (10-), coming in between. The second part stands for Gir. Thus the two parts together amount to Alamgir.

It seems strange that Dara's panegyrist should euolgise Alamgir. He dedicated this book to him perhaps to win his sympathy, but it

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is not known whether he succeeded in it or not. After the praise of the King he writes of himself and the thesis of his book in three pages.

The last line gives the date of composition of the treatise 1072 A. H.

After this introduction, there begins the book itself which contains reflections on moral subjects such as the 'Praise of Justice' 'Praise of liberality', 'Censure of Parsimony', 'Censure of envy', Censure of undue expectation', 'Censure of avarice and greed', 'Censure of indolence', 'Praise of efforts', 'Praise of learning', 'Praise of love and lovers', 'Desire of love's union', 'Censure of the desire and permanent union of love', 'Praise of wine', 'Praise of music', and 'Discourse of the pious', which completes the treatise.

There are other two copies of this treatise, the first being in the library of Madrasa-i-Muhammadi Madras, No 2686. This copy has been transcribed in 1221 A. H. by Ghulam Abdul Qadir *alias* Qadir Azim Khan, who was a member of a renowned scholarly family of Madras This copy covers 29 pages. The second copy is in the university library of the Bombay University (*vide* A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Mss. By K. B. Abdul Kadir-e-Sarfaraz, Vol. 18 p. 47, No. 27). The learned compiler has under some misunderstanding attributed the authorship of this treatise to Lutf Allah's younger brother, Nur Allah.

Imam-ud-Din Ar-Reyadi.

He was Lutf Allah's son and ustad Ahmad's grandson. The account of this learned scholar of mathematics may be found in the 'Safina' by Khushgo, 'Nashtar-i-Ishq' by Hussain Quli Khan Ashiqi, Azimabadi, 'Hamesha Bahar by Kishun Chand Ikhlas, and Makhzan-ul-Gharaib by Ahmad Ali Khan Sandailvi. In his own Persian poetry he has incidentally referred to some of his relations and ancestors. In Safina Khushgo we read :—

"Moulvi Imam-ud-Din (pen-name Reyadi) was the son of Mulla Lutf Allah (pen-name Muhandis) of Lahore, with whose judicious

(1) I am indebted to Mr. Muhammad Ghaus, M. A. (Hyderabad Deccan), a young member of the above family, for the kind help he gave me by sending extracts from the above copy at my request.

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suggestion and supervision the Imperial fort of the capital city of Shahjahanabad was built. Ever since the days of his grandfather he lived in the capital city, and he was unrivalled in all the branches of current learning. He wrote standard works in mathematics. In spite of this, he loved contentment and austerity. Teaching was his constant occupation but he was one of the rarities of the times. He gave little attention to composing verses due to his other literary activities, but he had an excellent taste for verses and stood in no mean comparison to others. He died in 1145 A. H."

After this Khusgo tells of his brother Mullah Abul Khair *alias* Khair-Allah, whom we shall describe later on. Khushgo has quoted some of Reyadi's verses also.

Husain Quli Khan Azimabadi writes in Nashtar-i-Ishq :—

"Maulana Imam-ud-Din was the son of Maulana Lutf Allah Muhandis of Lahore, at whose suggestion the foundation of the Imperial fort of the capital city of Shahjahanabad was laid. He passed most of his life in Shahjahananabad. He had a supreme knowledge of Mathematics and at the same time his austerity and piety was unequalled, so he assumed the pen-name of Reyadi, (austere, also mathematician). He also composed verses, though rarely.....
.....
He died in 1145 A. H.".

Hussain Quli has given a chronogram of his death.

Kishun Chand Ikhlas describes him in his 'Hamesha Bahari' with great respect and admiration. He praises him greatly for his religiousness, contentment, and indifference to the kings and nobles. He begins with the following lines :—

'His real home was in Lahore. The grandfather of this wise man (the scholar who knew divine and mundane secrets) settled in the capital city of Shahjahanabad. His father was Moulvi Lutf Allah Muhandis, who also composed verses occasionally, and had his poetic name Muhandis and was efficient in mathematics".

He then gives an account of his piety and austerity and a few instances of his meritorious verses.

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Ahmad Ali Khan Sandelvi in his Makhzan-ul-Gharaib (written in 1218 A. H.) says the same thing as Ikhlas did with very slight verbal alteration :—

"The original home of Maulana Reyadi was Lahore. His grandfather settled in Delhi. His father was Moulvi Lutf Allah Muhandis, who also composed verses and had his poetic name Muhandis. In the art of mathematics no one equalled the father and son in India. Maulana Reyadi gave little attention to verses for he was day and night engaged in teaching".

In Subh-i-Gulshan we read :—

"Reyadi Imam-ud-Din was the son of Maulana Lutf Allah Muhandis, at whose golden suggestion the foundation of the Imperial fort of the capital city Shahajahanabad was laid. Reyadi had settled down in Shahjahanabad, which he did not leave throughout his life. He was highly efficient in teaching. He excelled his contemporaries as a teacher of mathematics. In his devotion to God, austerity, and religiousness he had no parallel".

Tarikh Ulama-i-Hind has the following lines :—

"Mullah Imam-ud-Din Dehlavi was originally of Lahore. He was a mathematician and had settled down in Delhi. He wrote a short commentary entitled At-Tasrih-fii Sharh-it-Tashrih on Baha-ud-Din Amli's Tashrihul Aflak in 1103" p. 262, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow".

The above work is commonly believed to be the only commentary on Amli's book, although Ismat Allah of Saharanpur wrote its exhaustive commentary in 1086, entitled Babe-i-Tashrihul Aflak which has now been printed. Still Imam-ud-Din's commentary being elementary and brief is very common in Arabic Madrassas. He has written his name in the Preface as Imamuddin, son of Lulf Allah Muhandis of Lahore, now of Dehli.

This also shows that his family originally belonged to Lahore, but had settled down in Delhi probably in connection with the construction of royal buildings.

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Imam-ud-Din gives the date of compilation of this book in the Preface as 1103 A. H. and we know that Lutf Allah was living in 1093, because he wrote his book 'Muntakhab' in the same year. Eleven years after it, his son wrote 'Tasrih'. This conclusively proves that the son had finished or was still receiving his education in his father's lifetime. We may thus conclude that he had probably learnt mathematics from his father.

In the Preface to the Tasrih, he mentions that he wrote this preface at the instance of his brother and friends which mean his pupils. This shows that he was also engaged in the hereditary profession of teaching, which is corroborated by Sandelvi's statement quoted above.

There are two rare copies of 'Tasrih' in the library of Rampur, one of which has the distinction of being written twelve years after the composition of the book in 1115 A. H. The other is dated 1211 A. H. and is transcribed direct from in the author's own hand. These are numbered 15 and 16 (Astronomy) respectively.

The author had written marginal notes also on this commentary. Ms. No.16 of the Rampur library has these notes. My learned teacher Maulana Hafeez Allah, formerly Headmaster of Madrasa-i-Aliya, Rampur, and Principal of Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, during his sojourn at Rampur in 1310 A. H. has written his own notes on the Tasrih which have been printed in the Mujtabai Press, Delhi.

Imam-Ud-Din wrote marginal notes on two more books, one is on the famous astronomical work, Sharh-i-Chaghmani, by the illustrious Qadizada Rumi. A special edition of Sharh-i-Chaghmani comprising notes and footnotes of various learned scholars, was printed in the Alavi Press of Ali Bakhsh Khan in the time of 'Nawabi' of Oudh under the supervision of Maqbul-ud-Dawlah Ahsan-ul-Mulk Captain Mirza Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur Sabit Jung Maqbul. It consists of quotations and references from Imam-ud-Din At-Reyadi bin Lutf Allah At-Muhandis Al-Dehlavi At the end of the above book, this has been made very clear.

His other marginal notes are on his father's book. Sharh-i-Khulasul Hisab (*vide* Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in India Office Library No.761).

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Mulla Imam-ud-Din Reyadhi wrote a booklet on Rhetoric entitled Beyania. I chanced to see its manuscript in the library of Late Nawab Sayyed Ali Hassan Khan (Bhopal House, Lucknow). The language of the booklet is Persian. Illustrations mostly from Arabic as well as Persian verses have been cited in this book. The author has written in the preface that he wrote this booklet when he was yet a student, but he left it unnoticed. When the Princess Zebunnisa heard of it, she ordered him to present it to the court. In obedience to this order, he made a fair copy of it in 1107 A. H.

This manuscript was transcribed in 1245 A. H. From the words " due to engagement of some appointed tasks " it appears that Reyadi held some Imperial posts also.

Like his father, Imam-ud-din was a poet also. Reyadi was his pen-name. Kishun Chand Ikhlas and Sandelvi say that Maulana Reyadi could ill afford time for poetry due to his academic and teaching pursuits. Still he wrote a verse parallel to Talib Amli's Mutla which was reckoned to be inimitable by even great poets.

Ikhlas and Sandelvi are of the opinion that this could not be excelled by any poet uptodate. When Nasir Ali was asked by his friends to compose a similar line, he admitted plainly, " the best that could be said has been done by Talib, what remains is only the sediment ". Even such a great poet as Mirza Saaib had to acknowledge the excellence of Talib for he could not bring in the Qafia of Qali and Nehali.

But the matla of Maulana Reyadi was highly appreciated by every one, and some one said :—

"It appears that two gems were stored up in this field, one was taken by Talib, the other was hidden away by fate to come ultimately to the hands of Maulana".

Certain verses are ascribed to him in biographical dictionaries of poets.—

In one of the line we find mathematical references like ' Daur' (circumference) 'khat' (line) 'Ihata' (circle). In Safine-i-Khushgo we find two more verses :

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From the Preface written by Imam ud-din in his 'Tasrih' and Kishun Chand Ikhlas's account we know that under his training several promising students developed great proficiency in mathematics. Ikhlas writes: "One of his pupils wrote an exhaustive commentary in Persian on Almagest".

KHAIR ALLAH BIN LUTF ALLAH.

He was the second son of Lutf Allah Muhandis. His full name is Abul Khair entitled Khair Allah Khan Muhandis. He grew prominent in Muhammad Shah's reign. The title 'Khair Allah Khan' shows that he had access to the Royal Court. Like his father he also writes 'Muhandis' after his name. He received education probably from his elder brother Imam-ud-din who lived up to 1145 A. H. In the Preface of Tasrih, Imam-ud-din writes that: 'he wrote the commentary at the instance of his friends and brothers'. It is just possible that his brother Khair Allah may have been one of them. Kishun Chand Ikhlas writes in Hamesha-i-Bahar in conneetion with Imam-ud-din Reyadi that 'one of his pupils wrote an enhaustive commentary in Persian on Almgest". This pupil was his brother, Khair-Allah, as we shall discuss later on.

This proves that Khair Allah was his brother's pupil. His outstanding achievement is that he supervised the construction and foundation of the observatories in Delhi, Jaipur, Benares, and Ujjain, which were built in Muhammad Shah's reign by the orders of Raja Jai Singh. I wrote this by way of conjecture in one of my articles on Islamic observatories in Al-Nadwa (1909) but, thank God, this has now been confirmed by the statement of a contemporary biographer, Bindraban Khushgo, (1170 A. H.) Khushgo writes of Imam-ud-din in his Safina, the Ms. of which I have seen as the only copy in the Bankipur Library:—

"Now-a-days his (Imam-ud-din's) brother, Mulla Abul Khair popularly known as Khair Allah, is unrivalled in astronomy, engineering, and other branches of learning. Rajadhiraj Jai Singh Sawai had just then in view the construction of several observatories. On these he spent twenty lakhs of rupees in twenty years

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under the supervision and guidance of Abul Khair who is really a unique man of his age."

Besides constructing these observatories in Delhi, he also gave lessons in mathematics (*vide* Preface of Taqrib-ut-Tahreer) Accordingly the first name amongst his pupils is that of his own son, Muhammad Ali.

He is the author of several books; one is to be found in the library of India Office, London, as well as in the personal library of Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur, Hyderabad, Deccan, and two in the Oriental Library of Bankipore, a copy of which is also in the library of the Muslim University, Aligarh. The fourth is mentioned by Ghulam Hussain Jaunpuri in Jama-i-Bahadur Khani.

1. *Taqrir-ut-Tahrir.*—It is a Persian translation of the 'Tahreer-i-Uqlaidis (Elements of Euclids) by Khawja Nasiruddin Tusi (died 672 A. H.). This book was finished in Muhammad Shah's reign (1144 A. H., as is shown by the Preface. It begins with the following sentence: – "Shukr ast mar khudai ra ke Az ust Ibtida Ba suai ust".

In the copy found in the library of Nawab Sir Salar Jung, Hyderabad, Deccan, the name of the translator is 'Abul Khair bin Lutf Allah Muhandis', while in the copy of the India office Library the name is 'Khair Allah Khan bin Lutf Allah Muhandis' (*Vide* Vol. I, p. 1234, No. 2260). The manuscript of Hyderabad bears clearly the name Taqrir-ut-Tahrir, but the Ms. of the India office Library is named Tarjuma-i-Tahrir-i-uklaidis which is certainly wrong. In the preface of the Taqrib-ut-Tahrir which we shall mention later on, the author's son calls it Taqrirut-Tahrir and it seems to be quite correct from the nature of the works and similarity to the names of the author's other books. The Ms. of the India office Library is dated the 1st of Rajab A. H. 1194. According to a note on the fly-leaf this copy was prepared at Lucknow for Mr. Richard Johnson, by Rajah Nandaram Pandit. It sounds strange that English scholars loved to be benefited at the times from the mathematical books of our worthies. The Ms. of Hyderabad has been transcribed by Shaikh Ahmad in 1248 A. H.

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2. Taqrir-ut-Tahrir.— It is an abridged translation in Persian with commentary on Nasiruddin Tusi's edition of the Arabic version of Ptolemy's Almagest. The author's name is written as "Abdul Khair popularly known as Khair Allah and entitled Khair Allah Khan with pen-name Muhandis, son of Lutf Allah". The book begins with "Sana-i-Ke Az Andaza-i-Muhandis i-Khired Berun ast".

(*Vide* Cat. of the Oriental Library, Bankipore, Vol. XI., p. 70).

The author mentions in the Preface that he wrote this book, after translating Tahrir-i-uklaidis in the third decade of the reign of Muhammad Shah $\frac{(1131\text{-}1161 \text{ A. H.})}{(1719\text{-}1748 \text{ A. D.})}$ In writing this commentary he took help from Abdul Ali Barjandi's commentary on the Tahrir-i-Magesty. The book is written in this way: first there is the Arabic text of Khawaja Tusi, followed by translation, then there are occasional commentaries of Barjandi, and then there are Khair Allah's own explanations.

One copy of this manuscript is in the Oriental library, Bankipur, dated 22 Shawwal 1251 A. H. (No. 1058, Astronomy and Astrology). The other copy is in the Muslim University library (No. 6, Persian). Its title in the catalogue is given as Tarjuma-i-Magest I have seen both the copies.

The book begins with a passage wherein Khairulluh says that he completed it in the middle of the first year of the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1161 A. H.

The Ms. of Aligarh is worm-eaten, but the copy preserved at Bankipur is in a good condition. Both the manuscripts have been compared.

" The year 981 (given at the end of the book) is quite wrong. It must be (1161 A). which is the date of Muhammad Shah's death. And in the beginning of the book we read that the king had died just then. The book had been compiled in Muhammad Shah's lifetime but it remained reglected due to lack of encouragement by the people

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of the court. At last after the King's death, the lovers of Mathematics got it transcribed cleanly in the first year of Ahmad Shah's accession.

3. 'Hashiya Bar sharh' or "Marginal Notes on the commentary" of Naser-ud Din's Tusi's famous manual "Bist Bab Dar usturlab or Twenty chapters on the construction and use of the astrolabe".— Allama Abdul Ali Barjandi wrote a commentary on khawaja Tusi's book in 889 A. H. and Khairallah Muhandis wrote marginal notes on this commentary, which can be seen in the manuscript of "Sharah Bist Bab" preserved in the Oriental Library, Bankipore No. 1045 (Astronomy and Astrology) The name of the annotators is given as follows thus :

"Abul Khair the astronomer, entitled Khair Allah Khan Muhandis".

The Ms. is dated 2 Jumada II, 1165 A. H., that is, is the author's lifetime.

4. Sharah Zich Muhammed Shahi or "An explanation of new astronomical tables of Muhammad Shah" Raja Jai Singh Sawai, the founder of Jaipur, and Governor of Agra and Malwa (died $\frac{1156 \text{ A. H.}}{1743 \text{ A. D.}}$) was ordered by the Emperor Muhammad Shah to build observatories in Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares and Muttra, which were constructed, under the supervision of Hindu, Muslim and English astrologers. Amidst these there was Khair Allah Muhandis also. The record of these observatories were compiled in Zich Muhammad Shahi ascribed to the Rajah himself. Khair Allah wrote an explanation of this almanac, in which he gives his personal observations along with the comments and arguments. These explanatory notes have been referred to by Allama Ghulam Hussain Jaunpuri in his famous book Jame Bahadur Khani.

5. Sharh i-Zulali Wa Hafiz Wa Sikandarnama. "Explanatory notes on Zulal-i-Hafiz and Sikandar Namah" Khair Allah had inherited the hereditary taste for poetry also. Consequently, he wrote commentaries on the 'Diwan of Zalali and Diwan of Hafiz, which are mentioned by his son in the Preface of. Taqrib-Ut-Tahreer.

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He wrote another commentary on 'Sikandar Namah' in two volumes, and it is strange to find that it was also printed in earlier days. In Jama Millia Delhi, I have seen its second volume, which was printed in Sharf-ul-Mataba, Delhi in 1268 A. H. The author's name and title are given as "Mirza Khair Allah Khan, the engineer and the best of the commentators".

MUHAMMAD ALI REYADI BIN KHAIR ALLAH MUHANDIS.

Khair Allah Muhandis had also a son named Muhammad Ali, who kept up the tradition of his family by learning mathematics and engineering. Owing to his erudition in mathematics he was popularly known as Ar-Reyadi (mathematician).

His father had left the rough manuscript of his book Taqrib-ut-Tahreer. He had written only the Preface when he became engrossed in writing other books as well as in teaching. Muhammad Ali made a fair copy of it in order to make it available for reference and publicity. He has himself added a preface to it, in which these facts are mentioned :—

This preface is followed by that of his father, Khair Allah Khan, which we have already referred to elsewhere. After this comes another passage from Muhammad Ali, showing that his father also wrote explanatory notes on the Diwans of Zulali and Hafiz, and other text-book on mathematics.

Muhammad Ali Reyadi is the last descendant of Ahmad Ma'mar whom we have been able to trace out and here we come to the end of the account of the illustrious family which rendered lasting services to architecture, engineering and mathematics.

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EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

An Abbot of Nalanda.

By ADRIS BANERJI.

We are in habit of associating all epigraphs, as documents of dynastic history, or panegyrics of kings, written by paid court-poets, of great historical value. Nonetheless, there are records in the nature of *praśasti*s which throw extremely interesting sidelights on social, economical and religious conditions in ancient and mediaeval India. The Pehoa Inscriptions of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra emperors; Chandrehe Inscription of Prabhodhāśiva, Nālandā Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra are few instances substantiating the assumption in north India. The Pehoa Inscriptions, like the Damodarpur Copper plates, concern themselves with transfer and value of lands. Chandrehe Inscription supplies us with the history of a little known sect of *Mattamavuras*, which might have a remoter history with the *Mattamayuras* mentioned in Yaudheya coins. The Nālandā Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra on the other hand aquaints us with a school of Vajrayāna Buddhist monks named the 'mitras' one of whom erected the Monastery No. 9. A judicious discrimination of the epigraphic evidence even now can lay a wealth of material at our disposal.

Ghosrawan *praśasti* of Vīradeva is another instance, which aquaints us with details of administration of the ancient monastic establishment at Nālandā. It is an inscription measuring 1'-11"×1'-2", in which sixteen *ślokas* were beautifully engraved. The name of the composer is unknown but he was indeed a poet of merit, who had considerable command of Sanskrit language and poetics (*alaṅkāra*), is proved by two facts. First by the variety of metres used with great success; and secondly by use of such original terms such as *parihāra*, to describe the environments of Nālandā. Nonetheless, he is not addicted to *ślesha* style, like the composer of Kumāradevī's *praśasti* found at Sārnath, which is one of the most charming but least appreciated fact about that famous epigraph.

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Ghosrawan, is now a small village 7 miles distant from Bihar-Sharif on the Bihar-Ranchi Road in the neighbourhood of Giriyek. In Pāla times if not still earlier, there existed a *vihāra* ; at this place in March, 1848, almost a century ago, an inscription was found by Captain M. Kittoo who has been immortalised by his excavations at Sārnath and erection of the Queen's College, Benares.[1] It is hoped that his fine set of sketches of antiquities of Sārnath will come back to India. The record was first noticed by Mr. Ballantyne and finally edited by Frank Kielhorn. It concerns itself with the life and doings of a Buddhist monk named Vīradeva. This Vīradeva, was the son of Indragupta, a Brahmin of Nagarahāra, in *Uttarāpatha*. Nagarahāra, used to be identified with Ningrahar, near. Jalalabad, but recently the French archaeologists like Hackin, have proposed to identify it with Hadda also in Afghanisthan. In mediaeval times, due to its strategic position, Nagarahāra enjoyed certain pre-eminence, as a centre of trade, commerce and learning ; when cowherds were grazing cattle, over the charred remains of Bakhtra, Kapiśi and Taxila. His mother's name was Rajjukā. He came from a distinguished family, as his father is described as a royal friend (*rājasakhā*) probably some Turkī Shāhīya Kings of Kabul. That, even after the exit of the Great Kushānas, Buddhism remained one of the principal religions of Afghanisthan is proved by the statement that this discerning (*vivēkī*) Brahmin boy developed early in his life a taste for Buddhism.

He was however given sound education, befitting his birth in a Brahim home (*vedān-adhitya sakalān kritaśāstra chintaḥ*). With the attainment of majority, his inclinations towards Budhism became pronounced, when he is reported to have left his home, and reached Kanishka-mahāvihāra at Purushapura (modern Peshawar) and commenced austerities under Sarvajña-Śānti (*tapaś-chachāra*), probably then the head of the monastic establishment found by Kanishka. The Kanishka-mahāvihāra is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuent-Shang.[2] Alberuni too mentions Kanik Chaitya. Excavations carried on by the Archaeological Department have brought to light a magnificent inscribed casket dedicated in the first

1. Cf Cunningham—*A. S. R.* Vol. I. for his work at Sarnath.
2. *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 208.

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regnal year of King Kanishka, which when equated with the Saka Era comes to 79-80 A. D. Recently however a different theory has been propounded by the late N. G. Majumdar and supported by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti of Bombay who propose to identify him with Kanishka II mentioned as *Kaisarasa* in the Ara Inscription.

During his apprentice days, in the Kanishka mahāvihāra Vīradeva seem to have distinguished himself. Leaving Purushapura, he came to Magadha, ostensibly to visit Mahābodhi and worship the *Vajrāsana*, the alleged adamantine throne, sitting on which Prince Gautama had attained *samyak-sambodhi*. From there, he reached a place called Yaśovarmmapura-mahāvihāra, where, he is reported to have established himself, as a religious leader of considerable eminence and was honoured by king-Devapāladeva. There he is alleged to have remained for a long time (*tishṭhan-ath-eha suchiram*). The identity of Yaśovarmmapura remains uncertain. Cunningham identified it with Bihar-Sharif, the headquarters of the present Bihar Subdivision in the Patna District[1]; while late Mr. A. K. Maitreya, quoted Hultzsch to identify it with Ghosrawan, the find-spot of this epigraph. The name of Bihar-Sharif we know from *ex-voto* records and a seal found at Nālandā have to been Uddaṇḍapura[2]. The Tibetan historians call it Otantapurī, and the Muslim historians knew it as Adwand-Bihāra.

Apart from other notices of Ghosrawan, such as Buchanan-Hamilton, it was visited by Babu Ram Gopal Singh on the 26th September 1914 who has left a very fine account of antiquarian, social and economical conditions of modern Yaśovarmmapura[3]. The remains of a so-called fortified area are found on the S.-E. part of the present village. Another mound has a modern temple of Āśādevī. A very large collection of images of Pāla times is also a noticeable feature of the present hamlet[4]. The area requires excavation. The name Yaśovarmmapura itself calls for some comments. A king named Yaśovarmmaṉ is known from the Nālandā Inscription of Nālāda, son of Tikina.[5] This Yaśovarmman is probably the king

1 *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, pp. 120 and 125; Vol. VIII, p. 76.
2 *Journal on the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, pp.
3 *Rambles in Bihar*, Patna, 1917, pp. 49-52.
4 See my paper on 'Ghosrawan or Yaśovarmmapura'.
5 *Ep. Indi.* Vol. XX, pp. 43 ff., and Plate and Vo. XXV, p. 50 and plate.

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of the same name a resumé of whose conquests are narrated in the Prākrit *kāvya* named *Gauḍovaho* by Vākpatirāja. Probably after killing *magadhanātha* he either founded this city or renamed some city in the present Bihar-Subdivision[1].

An elegant *Śārddūlavikrīḍita* metre, then describes the election of the Abbotship of Nālandā, no doubt at the instance of Devapāla, " He who, (being) a friend (dear) like his own self, being as it were own arm of Satyabodhi, by the decree of the *saṁgha* was permanently appointed to govern Nālandā; and by whom.. " (verse 10). The significance of the term *Satyabodhi* is a mootpoint. The late Dr. E. Hultzsch was of opinion that *Satyabodhi* was the name of Vīradeva's predecessor at Nālandā. Differing from this opinion the late Dr. A. K. Maitreya stated that by 'Satyabodhi' the tree of enlightenment[2] was implied. These are rather farfetched interpretations. By the 10th century A. D. the tree of enlightenment had ceased to exist if Hiuen-Thsang is to be believed. The tree itself was holy, and no special powers were believed in its branches. By 'Satyabodhi' probably Buddha himself is meant. He who obtained the *satya* or true *saṁjñā* or *Saṁbodhi*. Vīradeva by his austerities and virtues appeared to him (the composer) his arm, that is the arm of the *tathāgata* himself.

Having become the head of the Nālandā monastic establishments; Vīradeva engaged himself in greater benefactions. He erected two chaityas on the crest of the Indraśaila hill, famous in Pali literature. Major Kittoo and Mr. Broadley identified the lonely hill at Bihar Sharif as Indraśaila, but this was controverted by Cunningham[3] who took it to be Giriyek hill. The ruins of the stūpas even now to be seen on this hill were possibly erected by Vīradeva. The next verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre gives a very appropriate description of the topographical feature of the Nālandā and its environment. It says *vihāra-parihāra-vibhūshit-āṅgya*. The term *parihāra*, as pointed out by Dr. A. K. Maitreya, undoubtedly implies 'neglect' but

1 The whole question has been discussed in my paper on Yaśov-arman of Kanauj. cf. also R. S. Tripathi-*History of Kanauj*.

2 A. K. Maitreya-*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 52, fn.

3 *A. S. R., vol. I, pp. 145-51.*

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in *Manu-Saṁhitā* (VIII-237) occurs a very good explanation[4] which has been elucidated by Kullukabhaṭṭa. According to it the main buildings were surrounded by a ring of subsidiary temples and monasteries as well as grazing and cultivating fields. The real meaning of the term *Vihāra* has been confused. Vihāra in Pali as well as Sanskrit means a temple and not monasteris or nunnery. The main shrine at Sārnath is described in some seals as *Mūlagandha Kuṭi Mahāvihāra* though it had known other names such as 'Dharmma-chakra' or the Dharmma-chakra-jina-vihāra. The temple erected by Dharmmapāla at Paharpur, was known as Somapura-Mahāvihāra. Thus the Nālandā-Mahāvihāra probably implies Temple number III. The term to signify abode for monks was *ārāma* or *Saṅgha-ārāma*. Thus the *gandhakuṭi* at Śrāvasti was known as Jetavanārāma.

Parihāra of *Vihāras* therefore implies that there were other sacred shrines in the neighbourhood of the main buildings. In other words it indicates a fact, which excavations have yet to establish. Archaeological corroboration of those is forthcoming. The large stele with eight great scenes of Budha's life, on a mound now known as Rukmini-Tila, within the village lands of Jagdishpur, represents one such *vihāra*. The fragmentary images in the village of Surajpur, Bargaon, near Chamargaddi tank at Nālandă, indicate extinct religious establishments, which were not always Buddhist, as occurrence of Hindu and Jain images show. The huge mound at Begampur, a village, one and half miles north of Nālandā, also represents the ruins of one such big establishment. Other remains are met with at Kul, Nanan, Teur and Zuaffar. The villages like Mohanpur have large collection of pāla sculptures which indicate a great amount of religious edifices in and around the sacred area, than has hitherto been supposed. The seals exhibited during the excavations also confirm this hypothesis, e.g., Kara (jña) mahāvihāra Harivarmma mahāvihāra Kammeyika vihāra.

Yaśovarmmapura, where he spent a considerable portion of his life, did not escape Vīradeva's benevolent notice. Verse 13 tells us that he established a *vihāra* for the *Vajrāsana* there. The meaning of

1 A. K. Matreya-*op. cit.* p. 53fn.

2 Cf. Hindu Elements at Nālandā,

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this point is not quite clear, and controversy is natural. 'Vajrāsana' generally denotes the adamantine throne sitting on which Gautama obtained enlightenment. It is impossible to imagine that a pious Buddhist monk like Vīradeva, should have denuded, the 'Mahābodhi' of this precious heritage and established a temple at Ghosrawan. Probably by *Vajrāsana* and image of Buddha seated in the earth touching attitude is meant. There is one image at Nālandā Museum which has a *Vajra* carved on its pedestal. There are images, *e. g.*, B(*b*) 175 of Sārnath Museum which have the adamantine throne carved on it. It was on this temple that the *praśasti* was attached, and possibly its mound has the modern Āśā Devī's temple. Much as we regret the composer is silent about the career of Vīradeva subsequent to this erection.

Pari ṭassu, it is note worthy that this epigraph throws very valuable light on the mode of education, training, of Buddhist monks as well as the system governing the appointment of the head of Nālandā monasteries in mediaeval times.

1 *M. A. S. I.* No. 66, pp. 31-45, plates ii (*c*) to iv (*d*).

2 Vogel and Sahni—*Catalogue of Sarnath Museum.*

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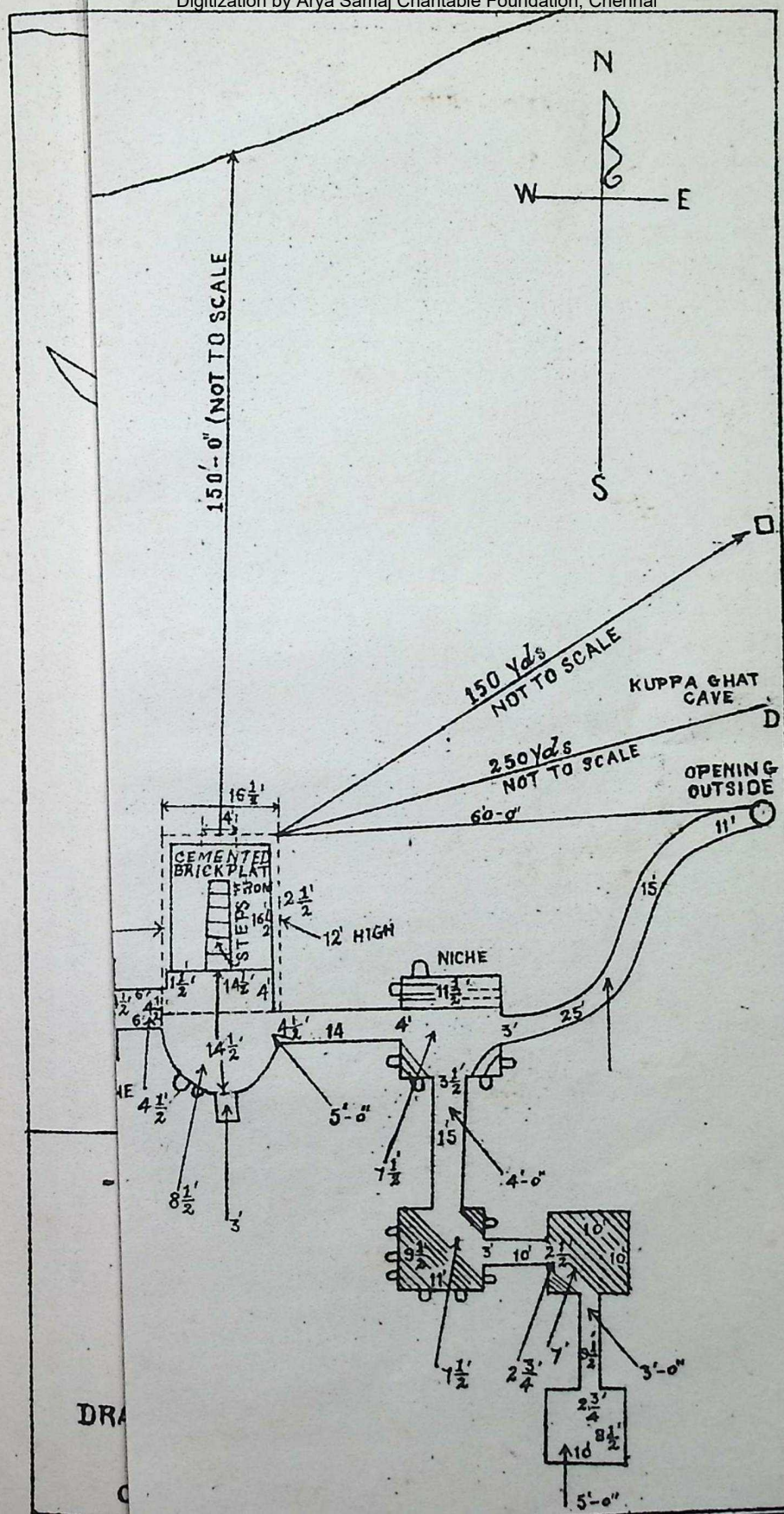

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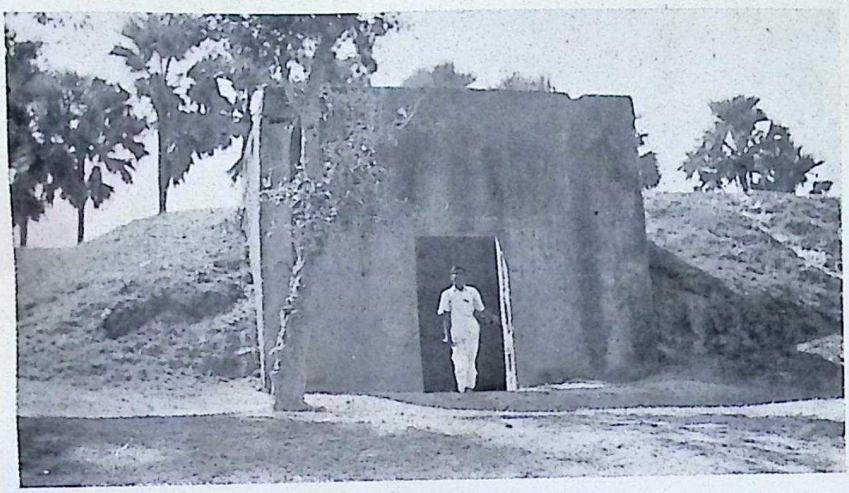

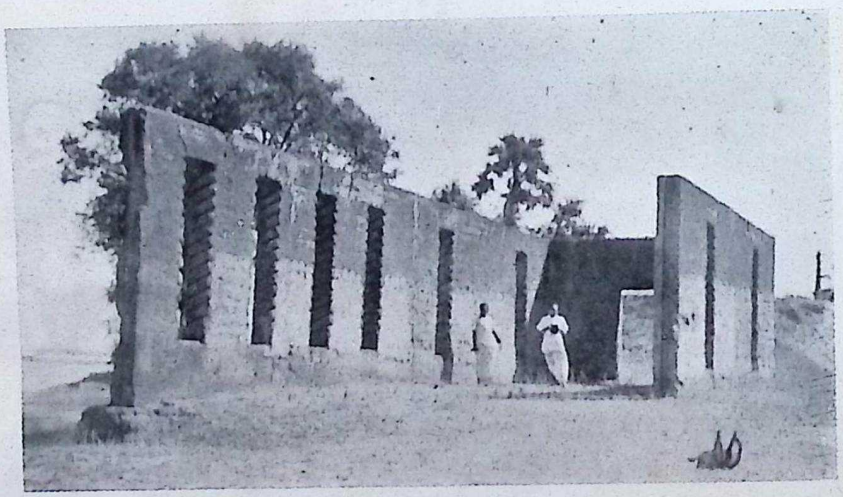

Barari Caves.

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NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS
THE BARARI CAVES.

By SWAMI PRANAVANANDA, F.R.G.S.
(Of the Holy Kailas and Manasarovar).

Introduction

When I was on my usual visit to Bhagalpur, my friend Babu Keshab Mohan Thakur, Zamindar, Barari Estate, casually told me that there are some caves in his Estate and that there are stories current amongst the people that there is an underground passage through these caves to Monghyr (about 40 miles west of Bhagalpur), that some go to the extent of saying that it took 14 maunds of oil for lighting to traverse the tunnel and yet nobody could reach the end and so on, though nobody has hardly gone beyond 20 yards into the caves. I expressed my desire to see the caves myself, since I could not believe the stories. So, he gave me two powerful electric lights and two young men to guide me to the caves. I went to the extreme ends of all the caves myself first on the 25th February 1946 and then I took the two young men also inside to corroborate my statements. When I reported the whole matter to my friend, he requested me to write down a full report about the caves to be given publicity when an opportunity comes or to be sent to the Archaeological Department. So, I visited the caves once again on the 26th and 27th February for taking full measurements to draw a sketch of this small, yet interesting cave-colony.

Position

Situated on the right bank of the River Ganges, about four miles east of Bhagalpur Railway Station is the village Barari. Barari is actually a suburb of Bhagalpur Municipality. About half a mile north-west of the village and about 200 feet from the bank of the Ganges is a small mound about 100 feet long and 35 feet broad. Under this mound are some caves known as Barari-ka-Guhha. Within 100 yards south of the caves is a small place called Mayagunj. Villagers

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of this place call these caves "Barari-ka-kuppa". '*Kuppa*' means a tunnel. It is just possible that the word 'Kuppa' might be the corrupted form of '*gupha*' or '*guha*' which means a cave.

Allied Structures

The mouth of the caves is enclosed by gravel-concrete walls about 12 feet high. The roof is $26\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but a greater part of it has fallen down. The entrance is 7×4 feet and there are no doors at present. About 64 feet west of the gravel-concrete walls of the caves is a column of walls which are also of the same material as the cave-walls. The sides of the walls measure 46, 18, and $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet respectively. The height of these walls is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the thickness one foot. They have eight window-openings $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet and one opening of the gate 7 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The foundation of the walls is 7 feet below the ground, which is exposed and could be seen clearly on the northern side since the earth has been washed away. There are seen a variety of things jumbled up in the foundation, for example: thin bricks, thicker bricks, molten parts of brick-kilns (black in colour), somewhat oval and ball-like brick of the size of a cricket ball, small slabs of two-inch thick gravel concrete, thick gravel-concrete bricks 9 and 17 inches long and 8 and 8 inches thick, gravel etc. One of the gravel-concrete bricks is of particular interest to study, for it contains the impression of a pot-like object. Beginning from the longer extremity of the walled enclosure up to 70 feet northwards are pieces of gravel-concrete walls and foundations. Probably these are parts of the extensions of the existing walls. These structures are undoubtedly of a recent period, though the caves themselves are very old.

Fifty feet west of the walled-enclosure is a pavement, 14×10 feet the super structure of which is now no more. At the end of the pavement also there are foundations of some structure. These are partly exposed and are made of thin bricks very strongly cemented. Breaking any portion of the foundation is as difficult as that of a hard rock. It is no wonder that these remnants might be the continuation of the longer side of the walled-enclosure.

One hundred and fifty yards north-east of the cave is a small mound, situated at the northernmost end of a beautiful slopy

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plateau. On it is the foundation of some structure 29 (E.-W.) by 19 (N.-S.) feet. On the southern side of it is a small wall 11¾ feet long (E -W.) and 4 feet high. Recently about a month back a corpse has been intered here by some Mohammedans The wall and foundation are made of thin bricks. This structure appears to be of the same type as the foundation of the pavement, and these two belong to a period different from the two gravel-concrete structures.

About 250 yards east of the cave is another small mound called 'Kuppa Ghat', where there is an *Ashram* of a Vaishnav Bairagi Baba. The main building of the *Ashram* was first presented by one of the Thakurs (Brahmins holding the Barari Estate) about 125 years back. Some more houses have been built later. The present *Mahant* of the *Ashram* is aged about 75 and is here for the last 40 years and he has got built, by some Marwari Merchant, a flight of steps upto the waters of the Ganges, which is about 80 feet below the level of the mound. In the *Ashram* also there is a cave-room, which has been well-plastered and whitewashed by the present *Mahant* The floor and the steps leading into it are cemented. Over the cave a small building with a flat roof has been constructed. A description of the cave will be given at the end and a plan of it is given as an inset in the main plan. In my opinion this cave also belongs to the same period as the Barari Caves. The *Mahant* of the *Ashram* also says that the cave is a very ancient one though the *Ashram* is very recent. On the eastern side of the *Ashram*, down below, is Hathiya Nala, on the other side of which are the Bhagalpur Water Works.

The Cave Proper

The whole of the surrounding region of the cave was once a thick jungle but now between the cave and Mayagunj is a fine grove of palms situated in a trough. Coming to the first structure on entering the gate, at the very outset there is a platform 16½×13½ feet, made of bricks and cemented. Certainly this has been constructed very recently, and does not look older than 15 years. Some local people told me that about 50 years back a Sadhu lived in these caves during his whole life and that another Sadhu with good means lived here some 10 years back. It may be that the latter Sadhu had got

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this platform constructed. Getting down a few steps from the platforms to a depth of 6½ feet you come into the semi circular hall, with a dome-like ceiling, resembling a *Chaitya*. On the southern side is a miniature cubical cave of 3 feet. As I had already mentioned, a part of the cave is under gravel-concrete roof and walls. The semi-circular dome-part of the cave and the walls are plastered with a thin layer of earth, most of which has been mercilessly destroyed by the silly visitors who wanted to immortalize their names by chiselling out their names and dates of their visits. After some years it is no wonder, if we completely lose sight of that fine material. The mound in which the caves have been dug out is of a hard yellow soil mixed with gravel (limestone). I think that these caves might be of the Buddhist period, if not earlier.

Different Sections

I would like to divide the caves into three blocks or sections, namely (i) the Eastern Section, (ii) the Main Block or the Western Section, and (iii) the Tunnel Section. In all these sections the ceilings are all vaulted. It is said that the neighbouring region of these caves was all a big jungle full of wild animals and that about 20 years back porcupines were inhabiting these caves, and as such youngsters used to come here to collect porcupine needles. I too came across some porcupine needles in the passages of the first section and two heaps of faecal matter of the animal in the extreme end of the second section. There are several holes sufficiently big and long enough, dug by porcupines in all the sections. It appears that these caves have been a big colony of porcupines till very recently. It is no wonder that even these years, porcupines and marmots might be infesting these caves during rainy season, when the Ganges is in floods. At the extreme end of the tunnel section there are several bats hanging from the vaults.

The Central Hall

In view of the fact that there was once a thick jungle here and in view of the fact that the scenery of the Ganges is simply beautiful and congenial for meditation purposes, I am inclined to believe that these caves might have been the dwellings of some Buddhist monks. It is

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interesting to note here that the site of the famous and ancient University of Vikramshila is about 25 miles east of Bhagalpur in the villages of Oriyap and Antechak (about 7 miles north of Kahalgaon), that at Champanagar in Bhagalpur proper, in the surroundings of Kahalgaon (modern Colgong), 20 miles east of Bhagalpur, and at Sultangunj there are still several Buddhistic remains. Proceeding on this presumption the central cave hall is the general meeting place of the monks and also the central place from which all the sections branch off. The miniature cave-cubical in this hall might be the seat of the tutelary deity, the repository of some relic, or some such like thing. There are several niches both high and small in almost all the chambers of the sections.

The First or the Eastern Section

In the first section namely the eastern, there are four almost square chambers of which three have got platforms to sit and sleep comfortably. These chambers must have been the abode of at least four monks. The height of these chambers range between 7½ and 7 feet and the length ranging between 11½ and 10 feet. The passage to these caves ranges between 4½ and 2½ feet in breadth and 5 to 3 feet in height. So the monks could very conveniently live and move in these caves. The farthest end of this section is about 96 feet from the middle of the central hall.

On the eastern side of the first room is a tunnel about 25 feet long, which might have been used by a junior monk. It seems that in a later period somebody or the cowherd boys have tunneled out the remaining 26 feet to reach the open ground outside. Perhaps it is due to this fact that the passage is very narrow here, though one can pass right through. This opening is about 83 feet inside from the central hall and 60 feet outside from the compound wall of the main cave.

The Main Block or the Second Section

The main block consists of four chambers. Of these the first is a small one and in all probability a sort of waiting room for the rest. Taking the height into consideration the innermost two chambers might have been intended for the images or temples and the middle

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chamber might be simply a square leading to all the four directions. Or it might be that all the three rooms might have been the abodes of senior monks. The height of the chambers of this block ranges between 9 and 7 feet, and the length ranges between 12½ and 10½ feet. The passages to these chambers range between 4½ and 4 feet in breadth and 6½ and 4½ feet in height. In the extreme western chamber there is a small tunnel 11 feet long. 2½ broad and 4 feet hight. The latter part of this tunnel must have been dug out by somebody in recent times or by porcupines. The farthest end of this section is 85 feet from the central hall. The first chamber is 2 feet lower than the passage and the last room and the passage leading to it are 3 feet lower than the central square.

The Third or the Tunnel Section

The tunnel section or the gallery branches off from the central square of the main block. It consists of a well 17 feet deep (of course no water) into which one shall have to get down from the central square of the main block, two oblong and one circular resting place, and an oblong chamber. The whole passage is 3 to 4 feet broad and 3½ to 4½ feet high. The chamber is roughly a seven-foot square. This and the tunnel might have been used by the more seclusion-loving monks. The rooms are probably meant for taking rest at ease while traversing the tunnel. The sides of the oblong halting-rooms are 8, 8, 8¾, ×5¾ and 8½, 10, 9, and 9 feet and the circular resting place is 7 feet in diameter. The height of the resting places range between 4 and 6 feet. It is just probable that the monks tried or wanted to tunnel out a passage to the Ganges. The latter part of the tunnel is damp and was full of smoke on the 27th February unlike on the previous occasions. The extreme end of this section is 255 feet from the central hall. There is absolutely no foundation whatsoever for the stories current amongst the people that there is an underground passage through these caves to Monghyr.

Unidentified Caves

About 185 feet north of the pavement is seen the arch-part of a cave, which has been silted up. This is not far from the waters of

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the Ganges. This must have been a good and a long cave once. Taking it for granted that the direction of the tunnel section tallies with the actual compass readings, this cave and the extreme end of the tunnel section could be very easily connected by digging out a short distance. By the side of this blocked up cave there are two more small caves facing east, just sufficient for a person to sit. These might have been used by the monks in the morning after taking their bath and evening for meditation purposes.

The Kuppa Ghat Cave

This cave is situated just on the edge of the bank of the Ganges overlooking the river. It is facing east. Getting down to a depth of 12 feet down a flight of 17 steps one enters the cave-chamber which is $11\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet. It has a vaulted ceiling like the Barari caves. It is exactly of the same type as the former. But due to the particular changes affected by the Babaji of the *Ashram*, it is appearing different in the diagram. On three sides there are small verandahs meant for meditation purposes. The dimensions of these verandahs are $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 9, $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 feet respectively. The height of the room proper is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet and of the verandahs and arches $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Caution

Those who wish to enter the caves should do so in not more than triplets, two would be best, should carry one or two good electric torches and proceed in a line, keeping to one side, say to the left of the tunnel; the reasons being these, if any animal like the porcupine or the cobra happens to be inside and if they throw the flash light right on its face, it won't attack them and if it wants to make an escape it would do so through the passage which they would leave on their right. If they won't go in a line on one side there is every possibility of their being attacked by the animal in its desperate trial to escape. The same would be the case when they go in greater numbers. Even if they are to face an animal inside they should not be disheartened, but simply keep to one side leaving space on the other and project the light on the face of the animal and slowly re treat.

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Other Caves of Similar Pattern

In the Barabar Hills 15 Miles north of Gaya there are 4 caves excavated by Asoka in hard granite ; two of them are double chambered, the outer chamber being rectangular and the inner circular or oval. The vaulted roofs spring from the vertical walls. Of a later date than these, is a group of three caves in the Nagarjuni Hills one mile to the north-east of Barabar Hills. They consist of one chamber each, rectangular or elliptical in shape. The roofs are vaulted and in one cave the vault springs from the floor itself, like the first room in the eastern section of the Barari Caves. About 6 miles east of Kahalgaon near the temple of Bateshvar Mahadev (near Vikramshila) there are three or four caves carved in rocks, some two chambered.

It is interesting to note that there is a marked similarity of all these caves with those of the Barari Caves. So I personally believe that the above mentioned caves might have been modelled out from the pattern of the Barari Caves, though it may be possible that the details of the Barari Caves might have been worked out on a little bigger scale on the model of Gaya Caves due to the fact that the soil here is easier to dig out.

Earlier References

But for a few village-boys who might have actually gone far into the caves, no Archaeologist or Explorer, whether Indian or European, did ever dare to enter the caves to their extreme ends and make a regular study of them up till now. There is, however, a reference to these caves by A. Cunningham in his " Archaeological Survey of India " Vol. XV. Pp. 31-34. Neither Cunningham actually entered the caves, for he says ' I was unable to go inside ', nor his servant went into the left-hand tunnel beyond ten feet, for he says that ' One of my servants examined the left-hand gallery for a considerable distance with a guide and torch without finding any change either in its course or in its size' ; this statement of his servant and guide is a sheer lie, for if they had gone in even 14 feet i. e. six or seven paces, they would have entered into a spacious chamber 11½ feet square and 7½ feet high.

In a similar way Buchanan's information also is second-hand and hearsay. He did not even see the caves. The Pandit of his mission must

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have gone into the first chambers situated on either side of the Central hall. Buchanan says, 'The cave in fact is very small ..... The roof is low, for the pillar by which it is supported is not 6 feet high'. This statement is not correct, for the height of the central hall is 8½ feet and there is no pillar now and there could not have been a pillar 6 feet high, supporting the dome even then. The fact is that his informant had mistaken the sides of the two side-tunnels which are 5 feet high, for pillars. Buchanan writes, 'About 15 years ago one of these (chambers) was opened'. Evidently this is the opening which we now see at the end of the tunnel that branches off from the eastern side of the first chamber of the first section. It was in this opening in the year 1840 or so, that some punch-marked coins were found, regarding which Cunningham rightly remarks that, 'the antiquity of the coins is undoubted and I see no reason to doubt that the subterranean places must have existed for several centuries before the Christian era'.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang also refers to these caves, who believes, according to traditions narrated to him (635 A.D.) that these must have existed even before the birth of Buddha.

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PATNA AND ITS ENVIRONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—A STUDY IN ECONOMIC HISTORY.

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1. History.

From earliest times Patna has had a fairly continuous history as a centre of civilization and economic importance. At the time of Sher Shah's transfer of the headquarters of the local government from Bihar to Patna in 1541, it was known as 'Pattana', meaning the mart, a name indicating its commercial importance. [1] This grew rapidly under the protection of the fort built by that renowned Indo-Moslem ruler. Forty-five years later the English traveller, Ralph Fitch (1586) observed that "Patanaw is a very long and great Towne", that its houses were "simple, made of earth and covered with straw" but that its streets were "very large", and what is very significant, that there was "a trade of cotton and cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they carrie from hence to Bengala and India (*i. e.*, Indian archipelago), very much Opium and other commodities." In the beginning of the 17th century the English Chaplain Edward Terry (1616-19) and the Flemish geographer and a Director of the Dutch E. I. C., Joannes De Laet (1631) described Patna as "a very fertile province." [2] It is not surprising that the first English factory was started here in 1620 under Robert Hughes & John Parker for purchasing the cheap and excellent local calicoes and working the raw silk (available from Bengal) into suitable skeins. [3]

1 *Vide* my article on '*The Cotton Trade of Patna in early 17th Century*' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII. 638 ff : for Sher's idea of the utility of the Ganges as a highway of commerce, see *Tarikh-i-Daudi* in Elliot and Dowson IV. 477-8.

2 Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, 109 ; Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 23-24; De Laet, Tr. by Hoyland and Banerjee, 13. Terry described Patna as the 33rd division one of 37 divisions. of Mughal India (E. T. I. 295). For different meanings of the word of 'India', see Moreland, India at the death of Akbar pp. 1-2.

3 I H Q. XII, *op cit* ; JIH. X. 246, 245 ; Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 314-5.

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The liberal Nawab Muqarrab Khan, Governor of Bihar, welcomed these factors and secured a house for them at Alamganj.[1] But the general prospects of trade were considered to be unsatisfactory by the E. I. Company's authorities. A devastating fire at Alamganj (March 24, 1621) and the departure of Muqarrab, a good and prompt paymaster, the appointment of Prince Parwez as Governor, damped the ardour of the factors, who felt themselves "altogether destitute". The new Governor's demand of money from "the merchants, brokers, shop-keepers etc. of the city" so troubled them that "none dared be seen to sell a pice worth of goods."[2] Finally the Patna factory was closed in September, 1621. The records of this First English Commercial Mission to Patna throw much light on the economic life of Patna.

In 1632 another attempt was made by the English to establish a factory at Patna, when the prospects of trade in Gujrat were seriously affected by the devastating Gujrat famine of 1630—'1. Peter Mundy wrote of Patna : " It is the greatest mart of all this countrie, from whence they repaire from Bengala that way to the sea-side, and from Indostan and other inland countries round about, plentifull in provisions abounding with sundrie commodities".[3] Mundy reached Patna in September, 1632, accompanied by an Indian broker, to sell 8 cartloads of barrels of quicksilver, and parcels of vermilion and to invest the proceeds in purchasing suitable articles of trade. This attempt, too, failed after two months.

In the middle of the 17th century Patna rose to world-wide importance as a source of production and supply of sugar and of saltpetre,[4] then in great demand in Europe as the principal ingre-

1 Requisitioning of houses by Kings, princes, and officials was not unknown in those days and though Jahangir issued an edict against it, the practice continued. Prince Parwez 'liberally bestowed' the houses of merchants and others on his own servants. The English factors were displaced and, after wandering for 10 days without any shelter for themselves and their goods during the rainy season were able to secure a house 'through the help of Mr. Moneye, *i.e.* by paying a high price or bribe. E. F. I. I. 256.

2 E. F. I. I. 259.

3 Carnac Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 157.

4 See my article on *The Saltpetre Industry of India, with special reference to Bihar in the Seventeenth Century*. J. B. O. R. S. XXIII, (1937) Pt. 3.

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dient for the manufacture of gunpowder.[1] In 1651 the English E. I. Company set up a factory at Hugli and a trading agency at Patna. But they had to reckon with the oppression of local officers. In 1657 a permanent factory was established here by the English. On 24th December, 1657, the Committees of the new stock framed its administrative policy, deciding to group all their eastern establishments under one President and Council, with headquarters at Surat, with four branches (the Coromandel Coast, Bengal, Persia, Bantam and Java), each under an Agent and Council. The factories comprising the Bengal Agency was to consist of Hugli (the chief station), Balasore, Patna and Kassimbazar. In 1658 the Patna establishment consisted of: (*i*) Richard Chamberlain (£ 40), chief. (*ii*) William Vasaall, second. (*iii*) Samuel Bayley, third. (*iv*) Henry Aldworth, fourth. This arrangement was subsequently modified and the establishment consisted of Messrs. Chamberlain, Aldworth, and Pickering.[2]

Pickering was advised by the Masulipatam factor, Johnson (March 8, 1659) to dispatch a vessel, laden with rice, butter, wax and sugar, to relieve Masulipatam, threatened with a famine.[3] Disputes of the English factors with local officers arose over the question of the latter's seizure of saltpetre. The former had also to face the reprisals of the Imperial General, Nawab Mir Jumla, for certain losses caused to him by the East Coast factors. However, Job Charnock, the able chief of the Patna factory (1664-80), succeeded in improving the trade position of the English in Patna. In 1671, Robert Elwes, who had been second to Charnock since 1668 was elected factor.[4]

In 1631 De Laet described Patna (Patanow) as "a fine place with broad street, though the houses are poor, being built of sods", and again, as "a large town oblong in shape. . . .the houses are of moderate

1. In their letter of 28th January, 1659, the company gave saltpetre the place of honour among the merchandise to be provided, and decided to send to Patna £ 5,000 a year for purchasing it. There it could be brought at prices 40 or 50% cheaper than at Hughli. EFI. X.275.
2. EFI X. 142, 189-90.
3. *Ibid*, 262. This shows that Patna was then approachable by sea-going vessels along the Ganges.
4. In 1673 he was appointed head of the Dacca factory and died there in 1675.

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size, mostly built of mud and thatched : but the streets are quite wide".

In 1663 Manucci found Patna to be "a very large city with bazars, the greater part thatched, inhabited by many merchants". Tavernier and Bernier visited Patna during the governorship of Lashkar Khan in Bihar (1665-68). They supply valuable details about the administrative divisions of the province, its capital, its governor, its revenues, and some manners and customs of the local people.[1] Bernier says that "Patna or Beare" had 8 *Sarkars* and 245 *Parganas* yielding 95 lakhs 80 thousand rupees.[2] In December, 1665, Tavernier found Patna to be "not less than two *coss* (4 miles) in length." He considered it to be "the largest town in Bengal and the most famous for its trade", and "one of the largest towns in India". "The houses", he adds, are not better than in the majority of the other towns of India ; and they are nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. " Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) describes "Pattana" as " a very large and potent kingdome, but longe since become tributary to the Emperours of Hindustan (or Great Mogol). The Chiefe citty whereof is called Pattana, a very large and spacious one indeed, and is situate near to the River of Ganges.....".[4] Thevenot observes : "Patane is a very large town lying on the west side of the Ganges in the country of Patan ; "[5]

1 De Laet, pp. 72, 77. De Laet (77) states that "in the neighbourhood (of Patna) there are said to be many gold mines". *Storia do Mogor* (Irvine's edn) ; Bernier (Constable) ; 186, 457 ; Ball's Tavernier 121-2 ; Tavernier left Patna for Dacca after eight day's stay (21st—29th December 1665.)

2 This comes very near to the full assessment of revenues prepared in 1707 for Bahadur Shah (Rs. 93,50,931) as compared to the standard assessment (Rs. 1,01,79,527). But the last recorded receipts only came up to Rs. 57,14,873. [Muntakhabut Tawarikh of Jag Jivan Das]. Manucci's figures (Rs. 1,21,50,000) are greatly exaggerated. *Storia* II. 416.

3 Ball I. 258, 121—3. This corroborates the description of the factors of the First commercial Mission to Patna.

4 Bowrey (221-2) betrays a lamentable lack of idea of distance, when he says that Patna was "not less than 1,000 or 1,100 miles above the town Hugly".

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2.—Environs of Patna.

We get some idea of the environs of Patna from the accounts of the foreign travellers and merchants of the period. Though it is not possible to locate all the places mentioned by them, it is interesting to find some modern sites existing almost under identical names in the 17th Century.

Tavernier and John Marshall refer to the *eastern* and *northern* environs Thus John Marshall,[1] in the course of his journeys, from Balasore to Patna (1669-70), from Patna to Hugli (1670—71), and from Rajmahal to Patna[2] (1671) refers to Dumra, Hathdah (as

1 John Marshall, the Company's Balasore factor, was employed at Patna under Charnock in 1669—71.

2 J. M. I. 77, 125—6. These stations are on E. I. R. main line, their distance from Howrah being indicated as follows: Dumrah (275), Mokamah (283), More (287), Pandarak (292), Barh (299), Athmal Gola (309), Fatwah (325), Hathdah Ghat is connected with Mokamahghat by a branch line. Rani Sarai 11¼ mile west of Barh.

Between Pundarak and Futwah Marshall s boat sailed up the Ganges along the following places :—

Jangera (? Jahangira), 4½ miles.

—Aunichocarra (? Achuarra), 10⅛ miles.

—Gunsurpore, 3¾ miles—Bidderea (? Bushara) 2¼ miles.

—Rani Sarai, 2¼ miles—Hansurepore (Ghansurpur), 3¾ miles.

—Bunderbunna, 11¼ miles (J. M. I. 77).

Marshall's route passed through Dumra—Merassee (Maranchi), 2¼ miles—Hathidah, 2¼ miles—Durriapore (Dariapur), 2¼ miles—Mokameh, 4½ miles—More, 2¼ miles—Mucksa (Mekea) 2¼ miles—Pandarak, 3¾ miles. From Ghansurpur Sarai—Jaraspur (Gaiaspur. Ghiyaspur), c. 2 mile—Ruckerpore (Rakunpura) c. 2 miles—Mosingpore (Moshinpur, where Shah Alam was defeated by Major Carnaud, 19th Feb. 1760) 1⅛ miles—Biccerpore (Baikatpur) 1⅛ mile—Bunderbunder (Bandarbana), 2¼ miles—Syriapore (? Shekhpur), c. ½ m.—Ryepore (Raipura), c. ½ m—Dyriapur c. ½ m.—Fatuha, c. ½ m.

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Hatchedo) More (as Mor and Mohore), Mokameh (as Mokoia or Muckeya), Pundarak (as Punararakh and Cundoreck), Barh (as Barr and Bar), Athmal Gola (as Asumalike Surray), Ranisarai as Raning and Rannicassera), Fatwah (as Footooa), and river Punpun [1].

The distinct reference to at least three Golas [2] and four sarais [3] and one chauki [4] (a toll station) suggests that the whole area from Mokameh to Patna was fairly prosperous. Indeed, Barh was a "great town", having several "stone houses", the road passing by it was "a very pleasant road". It contained a *Sarai* situated to the south of the Patna-Barh road and described by Marshall as "Milkees or Almesman's house, very neat and handsome."[5] Evidently it refers to a *sarai* constructed or maintained by a man enjoying *Sayurghal* or *milk* or *aima* land. Futwah was a long town of small houses, at least ½ kos (1⅛ m.) long and it had a "stone bridge".[6] Baikatpur (Baikunthpur), referred to by Hughes, Parker, Marshall and Tavernier, was an important centre of silk manufacture.

1 Near modern Jethuli Tavernier calls it Pompon Sou, 5 Kos west of Beconcour, *i. e.*, Barh. It crosses the Bankipore road at 10 m. from that town and 5 from Bykatpur (Ball I. 123 and n). It was an old branch of the Poonpoon, now silted up, marked 'Little Poonpoon R on Rennell XV, about 4 m above the main mouth of the Punpun at Futwah which the stone bridge (of Marshall) was situated. It was not the present Punpun which meets the Ganges at Futwah J. M. I. 92 n.

2(*a*) Goleighuy (Gola-i-ghi, a gola for ghee ?), 3¾ miles west from Mokamah on the Ganges.

(*b*) Athmal Gola (Asumlika Surray), 6¾ miles west from Barh to be identified with Sautmole, Comertolla of Rennell.

(*c*) Sumbarka Gola (the *gola* of Sumbar, Sombar, *i. e.*, open on Monday ?) about 15 miles west from Barh.

3(*a*) Sarai at Barh :

(*b*) Rani Sarai (Rannicassera). 11¼ miles west of Barh. Alivardi defeated the Afghans and Marathas at Ranisarai on 18th April 1748.

(*c*) Asmulika Surray, mentioned above.

(*d*) Gunsarpore (Ghansurpur) Sarai, 18¾ miles west of Barh.

4 Chowkey (7⅛ miles west from Mckameh), between More and Pandarak.

5 J. M. I. 125. 95, I think this Sarai is to be identified with Sera Beconcour, 15 kos from Patna, referred to by Tavernier (Ball I, 123).

6 J. M. I. cf. Buchanan's observations, 1811 : "a large town for this country", "most of the houses clay and a great many tilod".

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As regards the *northern* environs of Patna (across the Ganges), John Marshall refers to Hajipur, Sonpur, (as Soneigh), Jahanabad (as Jonabad), Nanagur and Singhiya (as Singhee), while Tavernier refers to Singhiya and Chapra.

Hajipur,[1] at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak, was c. 8 miles from Patna (? by boat) and opposite to Shah Shuja's garden. Marshall describes it as a 'great', 'ancient and ruined town', a 'famous place and the seat of a king'. The town had a *sarai*. Grapes were grown here. The English E. I. Company had a 'house' here, its rent being Rs. 3½ a month.

Minapore (? Mainapur), near Hajipur, was a pottery centre. A piece of 'fine earthen were', weighing only 1⅛ oz. Troy could hold 18 oz. (Troy) of water. 'Finer and lighter' earthen goods were manufactured at Begumsurray (? Begamsarai).[2]

The King's Highway connected Hajipur and Nanagur[3] (Nanagarh, or Naunagar) about 9 miles S. E. of it and 20 m. distant from Jahanabad. "The (E. I.) Company had a house of their own which stands pleasantly by the Rivers side which comes out of the River Ganges, when Ganges is high but at other times is dry. This Nanagur is a very pleasant place, being situated amongst topes (grove) of trees and the way from thence to Hajipur is very pleasant. Nanagur is also esteemed a very healthful place, being situated up on a hard clay ground". There generally remained a *baniya* and sometimes only peons to collect the saltpetre from the petre men.

Jonabad (Jahanabad)[4] was 11 m. distant from Hajipur. The English factory situated at this place was drawn up in 1676.

Like Nanagur and Jahanabad, Singhiya,[5] near Lalganj, on the left bank of the Gandak, also contained a factory for refining saltpetre. The English factors wanted to escape from the demands of

1 JMI, 128, 141-2, 157-8, 158-9.
2 Ibid, 414.
3 Ibid, ; Diaries of Streynsham Master. II-89.
4 JMI. ; DSM ii. 88. 90.
5 Hedges II, 241 : DSM. *opcit.*

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the Governor's officers by living at Singhiya. It was a pleasant but not wholesome place, being situated on saltpetre ground.

Tavernier describes Chapra[1] as a "large village" where the Dutch had its saltpetre refined. Besides them the French and the Portuguese also had its factories here. Indeed Chapra was one of the principal refineries of saltpetre[2] in Bengal.

Peter Mundy (17 Sept. 1632) refers to the *western* and *south-western* environs of Patna. The road from Naubatpur (about 13 miles S. W.) to Patna was full of "a million of Mango trees in plotts and groves" on both sides. There was "noe wast ground all the way, but full of mango trees. Coco-trees, sugar-canes, cotton and graine; Also the rauck of trees, which we had lost so many days since appeared now again 3 or 4 Course off."[3]

3. Manufactures and Trade.

Cotton goods.[4]

Early in the 17th century Patna had a flourishing textile trade in cotton and silk goods. Cloths generally called *ambertees* or *ambertrees* (*ambati* or *ambarti* probably *ambaratari* or inferior kind of cloth)—stout, close, calicoes of narrow width—were procured cheaply and in large quantities at Patna. These were considered by the English factors in 1620-1 to be stouter than the *dariabadi* (white cotton cloths of Dariyabad in Bara Banki dt.), the *Khairabadi* (those of Khairabad in Sitapur dt.) and the *Semianos* (or Samana, a fine cloth of Samana in the Patiala State). But they were narrow and unbleached. Besides these there were three better species of *ambatis*—the *razais* (about 2 Rs. a piece), the *Zafar khani* (probably products of Karkhana of Zafar Khan, a previous governor, Rs. 1½—Rs. 6 a piece, not inferior to the *baftas* of Broach), and the *Jahangiris* (Rs. 3—Rs. 12 piece). Conditions, however, changed about 10 years later; when Peter Mundy came here in 1632, most of the weavers were engaged in the Karkhana of the local

1 Ball I, 121-3.
2 Constable 440 n.
3 TPM. II, 134.
4 See my article on *The Cotton Trade of Patna in early Seventeenth Century* (IHQ. XII. 638-61) for details and references.

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governor, Abdullah Khan, in making fine linen for his seraglio, and so Mundy held that *ambatis* could be found cheaper at Agra than at Patna.

Other varieties of calicoes, both fine and coarse, were procurable in the neighbourhood of Patna and Lakhawar, *viz.*:—

(*i*) *Sahan* (enduring) or *Sohan* (fine sheeting), 5-6 as. each, referred to by Abul Fazl in the *Ain i Akbari* and by the Dutch Factor at Agra, Pelsaert.

(*ii*) *Hammam*, towelling or wrapper.—Both these varieties were in the hands of Pathan dealers who imported them in small parcells from lower Bengal in boats. They were neither local products of Patna, nor were they in much demand for local consumption, but the needs of the English factors in 1620-1 led to a gradual increase in their imports into Patna.

(*iii*) *Chautaha* or *Choutare*, a variety of thick calicoes.

(*iv*) *Rahmoutes or Rawat*, a kind of *chautaha*; Pelsaert regretted that the Dutch did not indent the varieties of *Chautaha* for Holland and Batavia, but the English factors endeavoured to procure these for their investments.

(*v*) *Kamsukha*, a rough unfinished product.

(*vi*) *Cassa*, a variety of Muslin, exported from Patna, and priced at Rs. 4—5 each. A variety of muslin, known as the *Qaim Khani* (Rs. 40, 50, 60 a score) was chiefly purchased by *Mogols* (Mughals), Praychaes (and also Armenians in the 60 ties of the 17th century) for transport to Lahore and thence to Persia. But about 1620-1, the Bihar *Qaim Khannis* were considered by the English to be "fitter for Persia than England, yet as fit for Barbary and Turkey as any other place". Patna, says Bowrey, also imported from Dacca "fine cossas commonly called Muzlinge (muslin)."[1]

(*vii*) *Doupattas*, narrow calico (garments), imported from Malda by the Praychaes early in the 17th century,

1 Bowrey, 230.

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The localities round Patna, within a radius of nearly 30 miles, were important centres of cotton manufactures, *viz.*,

(*i*) *Lakhawar*, 25-30 miles SSW of Patna,—a market of cloth goods for surrounding villages.

(*ii*) Nundownepore (Prob. Nundun, about 30 m. s. of Patna).

(*iii*) Selimpore (? Islampur of Futwa-Islampur line).

(*iv*) Behar was also a centre of cloth production (observation of Keene, chief of Kassimbazar factory, 1661).

The cotton manufacture was quite flourishing in the time of Manucci. He observed that "fine white cloth" was manufactured at Patna and was "very plentiful" in the province of Bihar or Patnah.[1]

Peter Mundy saw cotton fields standing in the area between Naubatpur and Patna. So at least a part of what was used in the cloth industry was produced at Patna.

Silk Goods.[2]

Patna and its neighbourhood was also an important market for silk,—cocoons, skein (yarn) and manufactured,—imported from different parts of Bengal, especially Murshidabad and Saidabad. Importing 1,000 to 2,000 mds. of raw silk a year, the factors of the First Commercial Mission to Patna tried a unique experiment in winding skein silk from cocoons (*serb undy*), as the sale of skein silk was a monopoly of the Governor, and it had to be purchased through the local *kotwal* at 25—37½ per cent. higher than the original price. Manucci also noticed that 'much fine silk cloth' was woven at Patna.

Imported silk manufactures, available at Patna,—Satgaon quilts and Tasar silk goods,—came from Lower Bengal. Some variety of these down quilts were considered to be "the most pleasing to Englishmen", but the trade had its basis on factors other than the demand in England. From Malda came 3 varieties of Silk goods, and from Sherpur (Morcha) in Bogra district, a thin variety of coloured

1 *Storia*, II. 83,426.

2 See my article on The Silk Trade of Patna in early seventeenth century (IHQ XV-208-27) for details and references.

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silk cloth. From Orissa came to Patna varieties of linen, called *Ambarees* and *Charkhanas*, chequered muslin striped with white silk. The best variety of silkgoods available at Patna was the *Curtabees* or *Aghabanees*, described by Peter Mundy as embroidered with silk, silver and gold, flowers and spotted.

In the sixties and seventies of the century Patna imported:

(*a*) From Kasimbazar, 'Sundry sorts of raw and wrought silks, fine shashes (turban cloths) and stripes interwoven with gold and silver.

(*b*) From Hugli and Balasore 'Sana (sanah or salu, a cheap fine cloth, generally sed). Ginghams (an old English term for a cotton stuff woven with dyed cotton yarn), oram malls, (rumals, handkerchiefs) cotton yarne'. [1]

Baikanthpur, 10 miles east of Patna, was an important centre of silk manufacture, producing in "infinite quantities", *alachah* and *tuckrees* or *becutpoores* (both for women's petticoats). These 'Bicuntpoore layches' were generally purchased by the Mughal traders for Persia and was considered by the English factors (1620–1) likely to command a market in England.

Benares Mandils, turban cloths, woven with silk and gold threads, were available at Benares in larger varieties and at cheaper rates than at Agra. Hughes suggested to the Surat authorities that they might be easily procured at Patna, especially if there was any demand for these in Persia[2].

Miscellaneous articles of manufacture and trade.

Besides cotton and silk goods, and saltpetre, there were miscellaneous articles of trade.

(i) *Lignum aloes* (*Aguru*) :—It was available at Patna in large quantities. The lightest or commonest sort (*samuleh*) of many kinds and prices ranged from Rs. 20 a maund (*i. e.* 8 annas a seer) to Rs. 40 and 50 a seer. A sample sent to Surat (in

1 B wrey 230-1.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 82 : EFI. I. 206. 73n.

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October 1620) cost Re. 1⅝ the seer (of 33 pice weight). Next year (August 1621) a sample of Rs. 2-10-0 a seer (of 33 pice weight) was provided, for trial in England, to the total value of nearly Rs. 400.[1]

(ii) *Opium* :—Ralph Fitch in the reign of Akbar refers to a considerable opium trade in Patna. This continued throughout the 17th century, and John Marshall, the Balasore factor, was definitely of the opinion that the "best opium comes from neare Pattana and that from Monghyr is not nigh so good."[2]

(*iii*) *Amber beads*.—These, imported from Agra, were not greatly esteemed in Patna. All the choice beads were sold to Muqarrab Khan at good rates, but the rest remained unsold for a time, the market price being under Rs. 8 or 9 a seer (of 14 pice). In August 1621 the English factors decided to dispose them of at Patna, rather than carry them back to Agra; there were no good prospects in future, the highest rate offered being Rs. 9 a seer; and it would not sell in any large quantity except in small parcels as for Rs. 100 and 150.[3]

(*iv*) *Corals*.—Soon after his arrival at Patna, Hughes realised that the prospects of selling corals at Patna would not be worth transporting them from Surat; it was not vendible in any large quantity and the price could not be ascertained before placing it in the market.

So he placed orders for a small quantity of corals from Surat. Subsequently John Parker made further enquiries *re* the price of coral and prospects of its sale. The coral merchants said that they never saw unpolished coral brought to Patna. It was not used in burning the dead at Patna as at other places. Again no skilled workmen were available for polishing the coral and cutting it into beads; hence it was not suitable for Patna. Polished coral, in small quantity, would, however, be saleable in Patna, but the price was uncertain. Coral beads were very greatly in demand in Bengal and large quantities could, the English factors held, be sold there, for about 50

1 EFI. I, 206, 200, 258 ; IA. XLIII, 78, 105.

2 Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *John Marshall in India*, 414.

3 EFI. I, 258, 259 ; IA. XLIII, 105-106.

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or 60,000 rupees: the most common variety, the small beads of 5 grs. at 12 to the rupee, beads of 15 grs. at 7 to the rupee, beads of 20 grs. at 4½ to the rupee.[1]

(*v*) *Shell goods.*—Referring to trade between Patna and Tipperah, Tavernier says that Tipperah merchants purchased at Patna coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell and sea-shell bracelets and other toys.[2]

(*iv*) *Gumlac :*—50 Mds. of gumlac were purchased by the Patna factors (1620-1) for Persia, the Red Sea and England.[3]

(*vii*) *Spikenard.*[4]—In September, 1620, the English factors reported that no spikenard was available at Patna. It was imported from the "north country" in the winter and would not be available for 2 or 3 months.[5]

(*viii, ix, x,*) *Musk, rhubarb and furs.*—Tavernier refers to the trade between Patna and Bhutan *via* Gorakhpur. The merchants of Bhutan arrived at Patna to sell their musk. During two months' stay there, he purchased Rs. 26,000 worth of musk, and he remarked that he could have made huge profits if customs had not been imposed on it in India (at Gorakhpur) and in Europe.

The best kind of rhubarb also came from the kingdom of Bhutan. It used to produce the seed yielding warm powder and other kinds of drugs. Beautiful furs were also imported from Bhutan.[6]

Musk, coming from Nepal, was sold at Patna at Rs. 49 a seer (16 pice weight, and 40 pice would have made a great seer of

1 EFI. *op cit*; IA. *op cit.*

2 Ball, II 273.

3 EFI. I 270; IA. XLIII, 108.

4 An aromatic oil or balsam yielded by an Indian plant.

5 EFI. I. 198; IA. XLIII, 76.

6 Ball. II, 258-9, 259-60, 261-3 "Those who return by Gorakhpur and have an understanding with the custom officer, take from Patna and Dacca coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell bracelets and others of sea-shells with numerous round and square prices..... *Ibid*, 261.

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about 31 oz).[1] Bowrey says that both the English and the Dutch exported from Patna large quantities of musk, taken from the musk deer of the locality.[2]

(*xi*) *Saffron* was imported to Patna from Kashmir and Nepal, and sold at Rs. 25—30 a seer (of 42 pice=about 2 lb Eng. avoirdupois) or often at dearer rates.[3]

(*xii*) *Elephant's Tusk.*—John Marshall reported that some 'elephant's teeth' (weighing 1 md. 5 sr.=90 Eng. lbs.) was sold in Patna: a tusk, 3 yds long, and ½ yd. wide cost about Rs. 55 or 60 a md. (80 lbs.).[4]

(*xiii*) *Bone lace.* (Bobbin lace, a kind of linen thread).—In Dec. 1620, 33 pieces of bone lace were sent by Shek Cassum's (Sheikh Kasim) man. By March, 1621 Hughes was able to sell 17 pieces of bone lace to Shekassane (Sheikh Hasan) at Rs. 216.[5]

(*xiv*) *Pottery.*—Manucci found the city of Patna to be the centre of manufacture of bottles and fine earthen pottery, including 'cups of clay, finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented'. The earthenware manufactures in general emitted 'a pleasant odour' and were 'so fine' that they were not 'thicker than paper'. Such articles were not only used by the nobles, but also sent to the court as 'a rarity', and 'as curiosities', were "carried all over the world".[6]

(*xv*) *Moist Sugar.*—There was 'a great traffic' in Moist Sugar at Patna, Hugli, Dacca and other places. It was exported from Bengal.[7]

Nawab Muqarrab Khan, Governor of Bihar, shared with the contemporary Mughal aristocracy a great weakness for "fine goods and toys", brought by the English, and the Patna factors frequently supplied many articles to him, *viz.*, (*i*) in October, 1620—broadcloth, Kerseys, hides, swords and small wares. Nearly all goods

1 J. M. I. 163.
2 Bowrey, 229-30.
3 *Ibid.* 413.
4 *Ibid.*
5 IA. XLIII, 97, 100.
6 *Storia*, II. 426, 84.
7 Ball's Tavernier II, 23.

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sent from Agra, brocade cloth (red, green, yellow), 2 Bulgar hides (costing Rs. 18), kerseys &c. were sold at a considera ble profit, in all Rs. 2,400. The 'bone lace' was so much appreciated by the Governor that he required all the rest. (*ii*) March, 1621—a heavy tapestry (Rs. 300), curtain, large looking glass (Rs.300), 2 *moheras* (Mohairs Rs. 50) and 280—pice weight of amber beads (Rs. 280), 2 Bulgar hides (Rs. 18).[1] (*iii*) July, 1621—3 empty bottles supplied out of Hughes's standish, at the Governor's insistent demand.[2]

The following list gives the prices of articles at Patna in 1620 (12th July). The figures within square brackets indicate the prices according to letter of 6th October 1620.[3]

Broadcloth, good red	.. Rs. 15 the Jahangir coved (of 40 inches).
Elephant's tusk, best	.. Rs. 80 a md. of 40 srs. (1 Sr.=33 pice).
Sea morse (walrus) teeth	.. Rs. 10 a seer (of 37 pice).
Bulgar hides	.. Rs. 18 a pair.
Quicksilver	.. Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ a seer.
Vermilion	.. Rs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ a seer (of 33 pice ?) [Rs. $4\frac{1}{8}$ a seer of $37\frac{1}{2}$ pice.]
Lead	.. Rs. 9 a maund.
Tin	.. Rs. 38 a maund.
Amber beads	.. 2, 3, 4 tankes (tango) a rupee. [Rs. 10 a seer of 14 pice.]
Coral	.. No settled price, depending on quality.
Saffron	.. Rs. 16 a seer.

Swords, knives, fine wares &c—"no price current" (according to letter of 12 July, 1620).

1 The price of Bulgar hides was left unpaid, and on account of the departure of the Nawab from the Patna, the Agra factoris were instructed to demand the sum from his son 'Shek Allaboxe'. Blochmann (*Ain-i Akbari* I. 544) mentions the Governor's son Rizqullah and his adopted son, Masiha, but is silent about Shaikh Allah Bakhsh.

2 IA. XLIII, 76, 77, 79, 82, 100, 102, 191; EFI. I. 199.

3 IA. XLIII, 72, 77.

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In the sixties and seventies of the 17th century, the English imported to Patna (as well as Orissa and Bengal) " scarlet, broad cloths of divers colours, vermilion, quicksilver, Brimstone, Lead, Copper, Ryals of 8 and Corall ". Bowrey, who was " a competent judge of the lucrative nature of Indian trade at that time ", spoke of these articles as follows : " All which, although they produce but little per cent, yet they are here as good as ready rupees in procureinge the best of good (s) in the Kingdome without any losse, but rather 15 or 20 per cent gaine, where to bringe Europe vizt. English, Dutch or French coyned moneys, the losse is more than soe much per cent. But the Voyadge homeward doth make sufficient amends. "[1]

In their General letter of 24th December, 1675, the Court of Committees of the E. I. Company enquired from the Hugli factors if the Patna factory would be able to sell sufficiently large consignments of " our woollen manufactures " for use in the cold countries extending from Tartary in the north to China in the east. [2]

The Company also enquired what drugs were procurable at "Patna and the adjacencyes " and in what quantities and at what rates. Medicinal drugs were, indeed, required by the Surgeons at the Fort (Fort St. George), especially Turmeric and Tincall (tinkāl, native borax). Turmeric was found to be " commonly much cheaper " at Patna than at Balasore and was intended to complete the tonnage of ships. In 1676 Patna sent to Hugli 1800 maunds of Turmeric and about 400 maunds of Tincall, the maximum that could be expected that year. In 1679 Patna despatched to Hugli drugs worth Rs. 120-1-0 for use at Fort St. George. [3]

Marshall, in his " Accompt of Pattana ", observes that English cloth would not find a suitable market at Patna. It would sell in Kashmir and Kabul. A variety of coarse and thick cloth, made at

1 Bowrey, 232-33 & n.

2 D. S. M. I 310.

3 D. S. M. I. 308, 310, 316, 331 ; II, 64, 70, 253, 322. John Marshall in his " Accompt of Pattana " writes : " Tincall (borax) is procured from the Rajayas Country of (probably Bihar) from the hills about six dayes journey N. W. from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana, Oyle is puth to it to preserve it. " (*Ibid* II 90).

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Lahore, was sold at Patna at Rs. 5 a piece (of 11 coveds 18 inches long and 1¼ covids broad), a price dearer than prevailing at Lahore.[1] Again the trade in lead, which 'would sell well', was farmed out by the Governor to one person.[2]

Patna was an important meeting place of merchants of different nationalities, for whose convenience there was a cosmopolitan *Sarai* (Saif Khan's *Sarai*). Here rooms were hired at a monthly rental, whereas Sarais in big towns usually accommodated travellers for the night only. The records of the first half of the 17th Century refer to Portuguese, English, 'Mogoles' (Mughal, *i. e.*, Persians, Central Asiatic foreigners and N. W. Frontier merchants), Pathan, Armenian and Indian merchants including East Bengal traders (*Praychaes*). The earliest English factors at Patna found that the Portuguese were already in possession of the field, and observed (November 30, 1620): "The Portingalls of late years have had a trade here in Puttana". Every year their frigates came from Malacca and Cochin to their two ports, Hugli and Pipli, where they had been licensed by Jahangir to inhabit, and thence they came up to Patna, laden with tin, spices, china wares, and returned with *ambati* calicoes, *Khassa* (muslin), all sorts of thin cloth (dyed red for the specific purpose of selling them in the south), silk and coarse Jaunpur carpets. It took 5 or 6 days to come down from Patna, and about double the time to sail up.[3] This trade must have been adversely affected by their expulsion from Bengal in c. 1632.

The Pathan traders brought *Sahans* from Lower Bengal. The Armenians penetrated into the interior of India in this period. The Dutch factor Pelsaert (1620—6) noticed American merchants at Lahore together with Aleppo merchants, while the English traveller, Peter Mundy found (1632) the Armenians at Patna. Tavenier met four American merchants coming from Danzic at Patna and they were going to Bhutan to sell images of yellow amber. Manucci saw at

1 D. S. M. II, 90.

2 *Ibid.*

3 I. A. XLIII, 73, 83; E F I. I. 191—6, 213—4; T P. M. II. 362, 366 For explanation of 'Mogoles' and Praychaes, see my article on *The Cotton Trade of Patna* in I. H. Q. XII 657-8.

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Patna one Armenian friend of his, named Cojah Safar (Khwajah Safar) of Agra, bringing a bill of exchange for Rs. 25,000 on a local shroff. The latter had become bankrupt. So the Armenian, by his dissimulation, was able to secure cloth worth Rs. 30,000 from the local merchants. But, instead of paying them he declared himself insolvent and, having bribed the judge with Rs. 5,000, was able to secure payment for his original bill and proceeded to Surat. "The Judge declared that the merchants must take the bill of exchange . . . being fellow citizens of the *Sarraf*. It was unreasonable that a stranger should suffer in a foreign country".[1] Armenian merchants and others who travelled in the countries from Tartary to China and carried on musk trade, annually passed through Patna to Hugli.[2]

The Dutch established their factory[3] at Patna even earlier than the English. The latter imitated them in their methods and activities, especially with regard to saltpetre trade.

It is thus clear that Patna in the 17th century was not only a centre of inter-provincial trade, but of inter-national trade, Asiatic, African and European. It was connected with Agra on the west by river and land routes and so with the general system of over-land traffic to Central Asia, Western Asia and Africa (including Egypt). It lay on the route from Agra to Chatigan (Chatgaon, Chittagong), the port of Bengal[4] and was connected with other ports of Bengal, like Hugli, Kasimbazar etc. It also traded with Orissa, including Puri and Balasore. Bowrey did not exaggerate the commercial

1 *Jahangir's India*, 30 : T. P. M. II. 159 : Ball ; *Storia*, II. 84.

2 D. S. M. I. 310.

3 Its site is now marked by the main building of the Patna College. For the English and Dutch factories at Patna, see my article on "The Saltpetre Trade of India, with special reference to Bihar in the seventeenth century". J. B. O. R. S., XXIII, Pt. 3. *Storia* II, 83.

4 De Laet (77-78) gives the following route from Agra-Chatigan Chatgaon, the port of Bengal: Agra-Prayag (Allahabad, by the Jumna)-Bannaras (Benares, by the Ganges)—Patanaw (Patna)-Tanda (in the province of Gour in Bengal)—Chatigaon. Manucci (*Storia*. II. 83) notes that it took him four days breach Patna from Benares by road.

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importances of Patna when he observed: "This is a Countrey of very great Trafficke and Commerce, and is really the great Gate that Openeth into Bengala and Orixa, and soe consequently into most parts of India, vizt, from the Northerne Kingdoms or Empires (by land), namely Persia, Carmania (Kirman), Georgia, Tartaria, etc. The commodities of those countries are transported hither by Caffila, who alsoe Export the commodities brought hither by the English and Dutch as alsoe of this Kingdome." [1]

The articles of investment were, embaled in the English factories, and according to the E. I. C.'s orders, sent on board the English ships. These used to leave Balasore Road in December, and after being fully laden with goods at Masulipatam and Fort St. George, started for England towards the end of January. [2]

4.—Finance and Exchange.

Some interesting details are available regarding financing of the operations of the English factors and exchange in early 17th century. They depended for funds for the investment on the remittances of the Surat and Agra factors through bills of exchange. Delay in receiving this remittance caused by late arrival of the Red Sea Fleet at Surat, straitened circumstances of Surat authorities themselves and other reasons naturally put the Patna factors to difficulties in purchasing provisions for investment in time and they had to shift for themselves, temporarily at least, by selling goods imported from Agra and making purchases at the Patna markets with these sale proceeds.[3] Moreover, it was always advisable to remit money by the cheapest channel; hence the Surat factors (1652) enquired of those at Agra about the rates of exchange between Agra and Surat, Ahmadabad, Tatta, Burhanpur, Patna and Bengal.[4] The Patna factors, finding the rate of exchange to be prejudicial, advised the Agra factors (2 June, 1621) not to make further remittance till further advice and desisted from drawing bills

1 Bowrey, 221.

2 *Ibid*, 232.

3 IA. XLIII. 97, 104, 107-8: EFI, I, 257, 259-60.

4 EFI. 1651-4. p. 109.

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on Agra.[1] The first supply of money in bills of exchange (5,000) came by February—March, 1621 and by August, the total amount received was 32,000, besides Rs. 4,000, constituting sale proceeds.[2]

The Bills of exchange were issued by the Agra factors in the name of well-known shroffs at Patna, *viz.*, Sunder Mydas (Sundar Mayadas), Maun Mackon (Man Mukund or Man Makhan), Basesar Mera (Bisheshwar (?) Mehra), Chaunsye Shaw (Chand Sahai Sao). The Patna factors considered the last mentioned to be the "Current dealar of Puttana" "*i. e.*, the most important shroff of Patna and advised the Agra factors to deal with his son, who was a shroff at Agra for manifest advantages. Again when the Patna-Agra exchange rates became favourable, Hughes took from Man Mukund Shroff (Sarraf) 1,962½ bright newly coined rupees (*nuris*) in return of a bill of exchange (*Hundi*) for Rs. 2,000 repayable at 40 days time ('Bandy mudet' = *band-i-mudat* = term for settlement) at Agra to Cassy (Kasi) and Baseser (Bisheshwar). This worked at 98⅛ *nuris* to 100 hundi rupees and caused a loss of only 1⅞ per cent.[3] Sometimes the Patna factors had to face difficulty in cashing the Agra bills of exchange. (28-31 March, 1621). One such bill to the value of Rs. 1,500, was at first rejected by the Patna Shroffs as it was not written by the *Shahu* or banker, acceptable to them, but by one Calyane (Kalyan) of Agra (whose credit at Patna had fallen on account of his agent's action in departing to Agra with his goods without payment). Subsequently the local shroffs accepted the bill and the factors in order to avoid quarrels about bonds, took the amount at a discount; the shroffs, however, did not take the bill and waited for advice from Agra, so that if they had to dishonour (*nakar*) it, they might use the *Khasnama*, letter of introduction or credit of the English for

1 IA: XLIII; 104.

2 IA: XLIII.

3 IA. XLIII, 99-100. The *nuri* was probably the standard of comparison with a bill rupee. EFI. I. 236 and n. The reason for fall in exchange was that Governor Mukarrab Khan, had sent 3 lakhs of rupees to be repaid him in Agra (March, 1621). *Ibid.* I have followed Sir R. C. Temple in the name of Chaunsye Shaw. Sir William Foster reads it as Champsaye and Chumpey Shaw seeks to equate him with Champa Shah (?). EFI. I, 198, n.

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recovering their debt from Kalyan.[1] Hughes suggested that if in future bills were made out at 14 days *barbasi* (usage or custom) there would be a saving in the discount of 10% (*dahyek*), especially if it was sent through an express courier. The Patna-Agra exchange between a *taza sikka* (a newly coined) rupee and the *hundi* (bill of exchange) was R. 1¼ per cent, and so it would be more profitable to draw on Agra than to await bills therefrom.[2]

5.—Inland Transport.[3]

(*a*) *Patna-Agra.*

Carts formed the normal means of transport between Patna and Agra in dry season. The time was 35 days and the charge Rs. 1¼ or 1½ a maund. But during the rainy season, when the roads became impassable for carts and other means of conveyance, oxen were the only means of sending goods. The beginning of October was the earliest time before the carts could again move.[4]

On October 4,1620, the Patna factors consigned the investments of that year, well-packed in 26 bales, laden on 4 carts and under the charge of 10 servants who had stipulated to reach Agra within 30 days (by 2nd November). But the charge of transport was somewhat more than the ordinary freight, -2 rupees the Jahangir Maund.[5] The factors paid the carters Rs. 153 for 81 maunds; if the latter delivered the goods and the bill to the Agra factors within the allotted time, they would get Rs. 8 more; but if they exceeded it, they would forfeit ¼ of their freight *i. e.*, they would get at the rate of 1½ rupees

1 *Ibid*, 101. Foster thinks that here the *Khasnama* refers to the *farman* granted by Jahangir to the English. EFI, I. 247-8.

2 EFI. I. 247-8 and notes, 145 n, 253n.

3 For transport on rivers and description of boats, see my article on 'Transport of Saltpetre in the 17th century'. JBORS.

4 IA. XLIII, 72; 82, 108; EFI. I. 191.

5 The goods were 'fenced with wrappers, cotton wool, waxcloth and what else requisite for their preservation both by land and sea'. IA. XLIII, 83. The Jahangir maund was heavier than the commercial maund, *e. g.*, 62½ lbs. in Peter Mundy's time. TPM. II. 237. In September, 1621 the Patna factors had to pay Rs. 2¼ a Jahangir Maund, a rate higher than the customary caravan rate (*barbast*). IA. XLIII. 109.

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and the factors would insist on redress from the owners and the sureties at Patna. Each servant was paid Rs. 4-4-0 "for their journey" (i. e., incidental expenses). One of them named Dyalla (Dayal) was to have returned with the news of their arrival. He was given Rs, 15 "to defraye the charge of the goods on the waye". One Abdel Caryme (Abdul Karim) was also sent with the carts but he fell ill at Lakhawar.[1] On the 19th May, 1621, the Patna factors again despatched to Agra the articles of investment in 17 bales weighing 52 mds. at R. 1-12½ as. a maund, on 2 carts along with a caravan of about 100 carts. Partial advance of Rs. 74½ was paid to the carters, who were to get the balance and Rs. 8 more if they delivered the articles in "safe and good condition". For proper protection of the convoy, Dayal and 6 archer guards were sent along with them and Rs. 10 were given to Dayal for the expenses on their journey.[2] The whole *Kafila* (caravan) carrying goods to Surat was, however, robbed on the way from Agra to Surat in 1621 by the 'Decans Armye' *i. e.*, the Moghal army fighting their forces of Ahmadnagar, and they hoped to get full restitution for the loss.[3]

(b)—Patna to Bhutan.

Tavernier says that it took 3 months for a caravan to reach Bhutan from Patna. It used to leave Patna at the end of December and reach Gorakhpur, the Mughal frontier town at the foot of the hills, on the 8th day. Here the merchants obtained supplies for a part of their journey, because the next 8 or 9 days' march through forests involved considerable hardship to the caravan. Travellers could go from Patna to the foot of the hills in 'Indian carriages' or palanquins but they generally used oxen, camels or the indigenous horses.[4]

(c) Patna to Nepal.

John Marshall got the following account of the road from Patna to Nepal from his informant 'Jenti Das' (Jinda or Jayant ? Das):

Patna to Hajipur, 3 Kos; to Singee (Singhiya), 5 Kos: to Mogullannee Surray (Mughalani Sarai), 8 Kos; to Butsulla where was

1 IA. XLIII, 77-8. 97. The Patna factors entreated the Agra factors to deliver to the wife of Abdul Karim Rs. 4 more.
2 IA. XLIII. 103; see J M. I. 425 (carriage between Patna and Agra).
3 IA XLIII, 107.
4 Ball, I. 262.

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situated the Sundar Ki Sarai, 7 Kos ; to Mosser (Mehsi, a great city and the seat of a Nawab), 4 Kos; to Soorgpore (Surajpur), 8 Kos ; to Motteharree (Motihari), 7 Kos ; to Heatounda (Hataura), at foot of the hills, 8 Kos ; then uphill ascent to Khatmandu (Katmandu), Pautund (Patan) or Bautgaurie (Bhatgaon) all near each other, in Nepal (Neopoll or Neckball), 40 Kos ; thence to Bauton (Bhutan, Tibet), 250 Kos—Total 340 Kos. [1]

(*d*) *Animals.*

There were in Patna little oxen (*gaina*) to draw coaches, (27 inches high at the shoulder and 36 inches long). Driven by one man, an ox could draw such a coach 20 to 30 days together at the rate of 20 or 25 miles a day. The best sort of such oxen could be purchased at 4 or 5 rupees a pair. [2]

Horses (ponies) used in travel were "by nature so small that when a man is upon them his feet nearly touch the ground, but they are otherwise strong and all go at an amble, doing up to 20 leagues at a stretch, and eating and drinking but little". Some of them cost 200 ecus=£45. Tavernier considered this to be "a very high price for a country pony now a days". [3]

(*e*) *Human carriers.*

When hills were steep, neither horses nor palanquins could be used. "All passengers of quality" were carried in a kind of hammock by six men on their shoulders, the charge being only 4 annas or ¼ rupee a passenger. [4]

It is interesting to note that English merchants travelling up-country used to adopt the dress of an Indian Muslim for enjoying

1 JMI. 161. It is possible to locate Hajipur, Singhiya (near Lalganj) Mehsi, Surajpur, Motihari, Hataura, Katmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon in the Survey of India maps of Bihar and Orissa and Ind Atlas sheets 102-103. Bhatgaon is 7 m. east of Patan. The modern western road from Hajipur to Katmandu follows the old route at many points.

2 JMI. 377.

3 Ball. I, 262. These were known as the Khunt. See Blochman *Ain i-Akbari*.

4 JMI. 163.

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greater comfort and being less conspicuous than in European dress. While preparing for his journey from Rajmahal to Patna, Job Charnock (2nd Feb., 1659) "for the quick dispatch of his voyage, is now cutting of his haire, and intends to enter into the Moores fashion this day". [1]

(f) *Postal messages.*

Usually it took a fortnight for letters to come from Patna to Agra in dry season and an interval of 24 days was considered unusual. During rainy season, however, even an express messenger took 24 days to come from Agra to Patna. [2] Letters from Surat came to Patna *via* Agra in about 45—60 days. Besides private messengers and servants [4] there must have been some professional messengers who could be hired, as we find the Patna factors engaging a 'bazaar cossid' (Kasid, messenger). [5] Bills of exchange were sometimes brought to Patna in 11 days by 'express' messengers of Agra factory, one of whom was named 'Guar Shaw. [6]

6. Natural calamities—Fire, Storm and Famine.

(a) *Fire.*

Alamganj, the western suburb of Patna City, was consumed by a disastrous fire during noon of Saturday, 24 March, 1621. Fanned by a strong *andhi* (gale), the fire spread from the outskirts to the centre of the *mahalla*, where the English factors' abode lay. The buildings being all covered with thatched roof, the fire speedily devastated the area, and the assistance of nearly 100 workmen of the English factory was of no avail against its fury. Conveying some of the Company's goods by a back lane to a neighbouring stone house, Hughes could hardly save his own chamber. The fire spread eastwards almost to the fringe of the Patna City but there went out,

1 Letter of Henry Aldworth (Rajmahal, Feb. 1, 1659). EFI. X.

2 IA. XLIII. 75, 99, 102, 103, 108.

3 IA. XLIII, letter No.20 ; pp. 97, 98.

4 *Viz.* Dayal and Abdul Karim, servants of the E. I. C.

5 IA. XLII, 97.

6 IA. XLIII, 100. E. F. I. I. 247-8. Sir Richard Carnac Temple suggests the name to be Gauhar Shah. Can it be Gaur Saha ?

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leaving behind "little save ruins of old walls", and taking a toll of more than 300 men, women and children. The factors observed: "The infinite losses of all men by this disaster are almost incredible to be reported". [1]

(*b*) *Storm.*

In 1667 a violent storm swept over Patna and "rolled the houses of that great city into heaps and blew down both the English and Dutch houses there".

(*c*) *Famine—Its Causes.*

Four years later Patna and its environs were desolated by a terrible famine [2] (Oct. 1670—Nov. 1671) which affected the area from near Allahabad to Rajmahal. A graphic account of it has been left by Thomas Bowrey and John Marshall, the E I. Company's Balasore factor, then at Patna. From their remarks it appears that the famine was not due so much to failure of crops as to administrative malpractices, so that in a sense it was a man-made famine.

Though the previous year was dry, there were large quantities of rice in these parts. Evidently the available stocks were withheld and the markets were controlled by the officials. While Marshall attributes the famine principally to the Nawab's 'roguery', Bowrey accuses 'the Nawab's chief wife' of what would be called blackmarketing and racketeering in modern times,—of having "several very large store—houses full of grain" and refusing to sell them "unless they would give the weight of silver in one scale of its weight of rice or wheat in the other". The ryotwari system having progressively dwindled from the beginning of Jahangir's reign the ryots of the village could hardly have anything like their own grain stores and they had now become dependent on the accumulations of officials and even their wives.

Famine Prices.

Hence a great scarcity befell the land which, Bowrey laments, was very fertile and supplied grain to such a plentiful country as Bengal. The price of fine rice [3] at Patna rose from Rs. 4 a maund (towards

1 EFI. I. 246-247, 248.

2 For the famine at Patna, JMI, 149-56, 125-127; Bowrey, 226; John Marshall, quoted in Bowrey, 227 n.

3 Bowrey says (226) that rice sold at one rupee a seer (of 27 oz.) This seems to be an exaggeration.

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the end of May, 1671) to Rs. 5·5 (23rd July) and Rs. 5·11·0 (8th August). Towards the end of May (23rd), 1671, coarse rice and wheat sold at Rs. 2½ a maund, barley at Rs. 2 a maund, beef at Rs. 1½ a md., goat's meat at Rs. 2 a maund, butter and ghee at Rs. 7½ a md. oil at Rs. 7 a maund (of 80 lbs. Eng. avoir); 4½ mds. of fire wood could be bought at Re. 1, 5 hens or 8 chickens at Re. 1. At times it so happened that no rice or bread was available in the market with the result that there was a 'terrible cry of poor' in the *bazaar*.

Famine Casualties.

Want of food drove a few to desperation. On 7th August, 1671, 2 merchants of Patna committed suicide by jumping into a common well. Thousands perished in streets and open fields. During 14 months (ending on 6th November, 1671) altogether 1,35,400 men died at Patna and its suburbs.[1] Only 1,800 out of 4,000 houses in Hajipur were inhabited and out of them many persons died. On his return from Singhiya to Patna (June 19), Marshall saw on the sandy bank, midway between the city and the river,[2] about 32 or 33 corpses all lying within 10 yards.

In May, 1671, Marshall also found the whole area from Mokameh to Patna to be devastated by the famine. For 13½ miles to Dumra he saw a large number of corpses by the river side (20th May, 1671), passed by 4 or 5 corpses along the road to Barh (21st May). Fine rice was sold there at famine prices—5 pice a seer (& 33½ pice per rupee). The "poor starved people" were making "a sad noise" at a *sarai* and Marshall feared that "they would pull all his things out of his palanquin". He noticed 5 or 6 corpses on the road to Ghansurpur. Rice was being sold at 3 pice a seer (33 pice=a rupee). For nearly 6 miles up to Baikatpur Marshall saw 27 or 28 corpses and portions of corpses on the road. Near Ranisarai he found ducks eating the corpses

1 On the 11th December 1671, Marshall got a written account from the Kotwal's *Chabutra* to the effect that during the last 12 months the total number of deaths was 1,03,00 of which 50,000 were Muhammadans and 53,000 Hindus, as recorded in their record books. This shows that there must have been arrangements for vital statistics. Elsewhere the number was given as 90,720.

2 This throws light on the course of the Gonges at that time.

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in a branch of the river. At Baikatpur rice sold at 4½ pice a seer (and 60 pice, of new sort, to the rupee). On 23rd May, 1671, Marshall saw, while passing through Patna several corpses lying on the highway and many in the *bazaar*, 9 in "one gate house". The daily death roll mounted from 100 persons towards the end of May to 250 or 300 about 23rd July and 8th August, 1671. The *Kotwal* (of Patna) caused all corpses to be thrown into the Ganges every morning.

Migration and Voluntary Enslavement.

The harassed and suffering populace could think of only two means of escape from this intolerable position,—migration and enslavement. Marshall says that 'the poor emigrated from Patna to Dacca for victuals'. Altogether 1,50,000 men left the town. Goaded by hunger, "many", says Bowrey, "gladly sold their children for a handful of rice". Ordinary slaves could be purchased (June 19, 1671) at 4 as. or 5 as. while good ones at Re. 1. Marshall also cites several cases of voluntary enslavement. (*a*) On 21st May, 1671, at Barh (?) Marshall was offered a 12 year old boy by his parents as a slave at 8 as., a price agreeable to the boy himself. But Marshall declined to purchase him, as the father was aged 80 and a *sheikh*, gave him 4 pice and sent him away. (*b*) On 22nd May, 1671, at Gunsarsore (Ghansurpur) Sarai, about 12 miles west of Athmalgola, John Marshall purchased a slave named Brinchee (? Baranasi ? Birinchi) from the latter's elder brother Banisee (Bansi). "I agreed", he writes, "for 8 annas but gave 1 rupee for him" and also gave 4 pice worth seatmeats as was customary in purchase of slaves, 2 pice to the landlord of the Sarai and 1 pice to the barber for shaving his head. (*c*) On 31st May, 1671, he bought at Patna a Brahmin slave boy for 4 rupees, named Mangah (Manga) 7 or 8 years old, then 43" high; his father named "Jankee" (Janaki) was dead, his mother named "Dowkee" (Devaki or Dukhi) was alive. Marshall renamed the boy 'Abraham'.

Effect on Standard of Life.

The diet of the famine-stricken slaves had to be regulated with care. If those extremely emaciated consumed slightly more than the average dose of food (rice, flesh, butter or meat), their faces, hands and feet swelled. So they had to be given only 2 meals each

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of $\frac{1}{4}$ Sr. rice, as compared to 2 meals each of $\frac{1}{3}$ Sr. rice given to ordinary slaves.

Emaciated workmen were unable to bear the strain of hard labour which they were sometimes obliged to undergo for their livelihood and collapsed. Probably this is the implication of a quaint observation of Marshall : " Such was the laziness of workmen in the time of famine that in the time of making one Casmere boat for the Company, six of the carpenters died of famine. "

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SOME IMPERIAL FARMANS ADDRESSED TO RATHOR DURGADAS.

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, JODHPUR.

Each and every scholar of Rajput history knows well that Rathor Durgadas was a yeteran hero of not only Marwar, but of the whole of Rajputana. He was the son of Thakur Askaran of Salva and was born on 13th August 1638 A. D. and died in 1718 A. D. on the bank of the river Kshipra at Ujjain. Soon after the death of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I of Jodhpur, at Jamrud in 1678 A. D. Emperor Aurangzeb annexed Jodhpur to his territory and for 8 years Maharaja Ajit Singh, the posthumous son of the late Maharaja, was kept hidden in the mountain of Sirohi and his nobles fought against the Imperial army, while after that for 20 years the Maharaja and his Sardars harassed the Mughal armies, whenever they got opportunity. In this long struggle of 28 years of calamity over Marwar Rathor Durgadas was the main leader who fought successfully against the Emperor.

In 1680 A. D. Durgadas persuaded Mohammad Akbar, the youngest son of the Emperor, to follow in the footsteps of his father and proclaim himself as the Emperor of India. But when his plan could not materialise owing to the shrewdness of the Emperor, he took Prince Akbar to the court of Shambhaji in the Deccan to divert the attention of the Emperor from Marwar and in this he was successful. In September, 1681 A. D the Emperor was obliged to proceed to the Deccan to personally suppress disturbances which, he feared, might be created there by the presence of the rebel Prince Akbar.

In 1687 A. D. when Prince Akbar sailed to Persia and Durgadas returned to Marwar Emperor Aurangzeb tried to take the children of prince Akbar whom he had left under the protection of Durgadas and after long negotiations Durgadas handed over the daughter and son of the Prince Akbar to the Emperor.

In 1707 A. D. Emperor Aurangzeb died near Ahmednagar in the Deccan and Maharaja Ajit Singh was able to take possession of Jodhpur, his ancestral capital.

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We give below extracts of a few. Farmans issued by Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.), Shah Alam Bahadurshah (1707-1712 A. D.), Jahandar Shah (1712 A.D.) and Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719 A. D.).

These Farmans are in the possession of the descendants of Rathor Durgadas.

Farman No. 1.

It was issued by Emperor Aurangzeb and was addressed to Durgadas. It states that the Emperor had come to know from the letter of Mirkhan, son of late Amirkhan, that Prince Mohammad Akbar, who was then in Kabul, dared not present himself at the Royal court. He had not even come to Multan where his (Akbar's) son was sent to receive him. It was also clear from the letter of Shujaatkhan that the prince had made up his mind to come to the Imperial Court. Therefore Imperial orders had been sent to him that he should come to Foshanj, which is in the district of Kandhar and from there he should proceed either *via* the district of Mehrab Bardih through which he previously intended to come or *via* the route of Sevi Kunjava(?) which was the homeland of Bakhtiarkhan and coming 4 miles towards Sevas should come to Ahmedabad Gujrat, through Jaisalmer. From Ahmadabad he should proceed after obtaining the Royal permission. He (Durgadas) had therefore been ordered to go to Sevastan and meeting Prince Mohammad Akbar there, bring him to Ahmedabad either *via* Jaisalmer or any other route, which he considered suitable and from there escort him with Shujaat Khan to the Imperial Court.

Dated 10th Rajab, Regnal year 42 (1110 A. H.) (2nd January 1699 A. D.=Paush Sudi 11, 1755 V.S.).

It bears the seals of the Emperor and Vazir Assfuddaula. The Emperor's seal contains year 1079 A. H.

Farman No. 2.

It was written by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah to Rathor Durgadas, whom he had addressed as best among the kinsmen and relatives. It acknowledges his petition of allowing him to present

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himself at the Imperial Court and commands him to present himself at the court soon after receiving this Farman.

Dated 17th Zilkad, 1st Regnal year (29th January 1708 A. D. Phalgun Vadi 3, 1764 V. S.).

It also bears the seals of the Emperor and the Vazir Asafuddaula. The Emperor's seal contains the year 1119 A. H.

Farman No. 3.

It was written by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and was addressed to Rathor Durgadas.

It bears an Imperial seal which contains the following names :— (1) Amir Taimur, (2) Ibn Miran Shah, (3) Ibn Sultan Muhammad Shah, (4) Ibn Abusaid Shah, (5) Ibn Umarshekh Shah, (6) Ibn Babar Badshah, (7) Ibn Humayun Badshah, (8) Ibn Akbar Badshah, (9) Ibn Jahangir Badshah, (10) Ibn Shah Jahan Badshah, (11) Ibn Alamgir Badshah, (12) Ibn Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Badshah.

It states that this petition requesting the permission for attending the court and for a grant of Farman was presented in the Royal Court, hence this Farman was issued in his name. After receiving this he should present himself in the Imperial Court, so that he might receive more Imperial favours.

(On the reverse of this Farman are written a series of the titles of Vazir Asafuddaula according to the custom of the court writers).

It also contains the seal of Vazir Asafuddaula. But its date and the regnal year are not clear.

Farman No. 4.

It was sent by Emperor Jahandar Shah to Rathor Durgadas. It states that though Muhammad Azim with Muhammad Karim Rafiul Qadir and Khujista Akhtar as well as his son was killed, yet by good fortune victory was achieved. The Emperor being pleased had bestowed upon him (Durgadas) the personal rank of 4,000, 3000 horse and the title of Rao.

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He should be thankful for this favour, remain loyal and attend our court.

Dated 6th Rebi-ul-Akhir, 1st regnal year, (1124 A. H.) (2nd May 1712 A. D.=Vaishakh Sudi 7, 1769 V. S.).

It too contains the seals of the Emperor and his Vizir Asafuddaula. The first seal contains the year 1123 A. H.

Farman No. 5.

A Farman written by Emperor Jahandar Shah and addressed to a Rathor Chief in his 1st regnal year 29th Ziqad 1124 A. H. (1st day of the bright half of Paush V. S. 1769=17th December 1712).

It states that Durgadas after being expectant of kingly favours may know that in these auspicious days it was conveyed to us (the king) that that near relation requests our permission to attend the royal presence and awaits our commands to that effect. It is hereby commanded that on receipt of this Farman he would unhesitatingly present himself at our court where he will be honoured with kingly favours.

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Reviews and Notices of Books.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL : *Verrier Elwin.*

(Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 730 ; price Rs. 25).

Reviewed by Dr. S. C. Sarkār, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

This is certainly the masterpiece of Elwin, and marks a fresh stage in the growth of the young science of Indian Ethnology; its scientific value is comparable to that of Malinowski's Oceania.

I have heard some scholars opine that this study is much too frank and detailed on the subject of sex-relations and sex-psychology, and almost glorifies the depravity amongst tribal peoples. I strongly differ from such old-world critics suffering from the multifold inhibitions of the Middle Ages and even of the Victorian Age. To the strictly scientific ethnologist, as to the psychologist and sociologist, the various manifestations of sex in the scheme of human life are amongst the most fruitful materials for study and research.

A critical review of this extensive study would mean the drawing up of a small treatise, another piece of research work. I would, therefore, content myself with a few suggestions to the learned author and to other workers in the field of Indian Ethnology.

For forty years I have studied very carefully the entire mass of Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, specially the social and cultural aspects of these traditions, as contained in the various Historical Epics and the 'Purāṇas' (ancient histories). I think the clue to the understanding of many of those social and cultural traditions of ancient India is to be found in the 'tribal' civilization of India, even as it has survived today. Though it is not necessarily historically correct that a tribal community of today in India represents a survival of the earliest inhabitants of the land (ādivāsī), yet there is no doubt that similar tribal peoples have always in the past, and remote past, entered and settled in India from time to time, and that the standard composite ancient Indian society and culture have had in their web quite a number

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of the strands typical of 'aboriginal' or 'primitive' communities. As an example I put it to scholars in Indian Ethnology and Early Indian Social and Cultural History, that the manners, customs and social set-up illustrated with so much wealth of detail in all that is said in ancient literature about the life and doings in the pastoral settlements of the 'Heroic Age', typified by Vṛndā-vana of Vrajabhūmi and the life-history of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and their 'gopas' and 'gopīs' is just a replica, even in minute details, of what is to be found amongst the Murias and their Ghotuls, or amongst similar institutions of similar other tribal peoples. I should think that the Ābhīras and Nāgas amongst whom the Yādava ruling families of Yamunā Valley and adjacent regions to the South-West of it settled, were peoples with Muria-type institutions, which they adopted, patronised and adapted. The Kṛṣṇa episodes become crystal clear if Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and their associates are viewed as Cheliks and Motiāries of the Ghotul of a pastoral tribal settlement.

I leave scholars to trace out the parallelism in detail, much of which I have done myself recently in connection with a 'Kṛṣṇāyaṇa' that I have been compiling. Incidentally I might mention here that the Kṛṣṇa stories know of his relations with groups of tribal "Mura" girls (in N. E. India), and that Ghotul is a later form of ancient Indian 'Goṣṭhālaya' or 'Goṣṭha-kula' (the Goṣṭha or Goṭha of Vraja-bhūmi, adopted into early classical urban life as 'Goṣṭhī') through 'Goṭhal' or 'Gṭhul' into 'Ghotul' (Cf. the colloquial Bengali phrase 'ghoṭ pākāna'=work up run a circle, group or conclave of fellows, or 'Ghoṭule'=one inclined to form or delight in such conclaves).

Finally I would also suggest to students of ethnology and cultural history, that in our studies in these lines we should bear in mind that in India the strands of a standard orthodox 'Indo-Āryan' culture (if there is indeed such a thing in the scientific sense) and of primitive aboriginal tribal culture, are intricately braided, in every age, from the earliest to the present, and what was tribal at one stage appears 'Āryan' (?) at another, and *vice versa* too !

S. C. Sarkār.

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Notes of the Quarter.

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Annual Report for 1947-48.

I—Membership.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1946 was 123. The Society lost four of its ordinary members—2 by resignation and two by death. 8 new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary Members and 16 Life Members, the total membership of the Society stands at 150.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and members of the Council :—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Treasurer—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M.A., Ph. D.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).
Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph. D. (Editor-in-charge).
Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.
Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M.A., Ph. D.

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Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
Mr. S.P. Varma.
The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S.J.
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.
A. J. Salisbury, Esq., I.C.S.
Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph. D.
Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A.
Saiyid Ahsan Shere, Esq., M.A. (London).

II—Meetings.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 23rd March, 1946 in the Physics Lecture Theatre of Science College, Patna. His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The Meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "Indian Culture in Central Asia" delivered by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D. Litt. of the Visvabharati, Santiniketan.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 28th July, 1946 and the 2nd February, 1947.

An extraordinary meeting of the Society was held under the presidentship of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, M. L. A., Barrister-at-Law on the 16th March, 1947, when Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), Secretary of the Society, delivered a lecture on "Bihar Research Society, Research in Bihar, Society for Research and Nature of Research". This was in pursuance of a Resolution of the Council to the effect that the Society should take steps towards establishing a more direct contact with the educated public, and make the results of its work available to them by other means as well, besides its Journal.

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III—Research Work.

In approval of a part of a scheme submitted by the Secretary, for development of the Research Society, the Local Government has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,860 for one year to assist Research Work on Tibetan materials brought from Tibet by Pandit Rahula Sankrityayana, and Geshay Zangpo, a Tibetan Monk, has been appointed with this grant to assist the Secretary, Dr. S. C. Sarkar, in carrying on this Research work. So far, about 30 bundles of Manuscripts have been duly catalogued. The Visvabharati, Santiniketan, and the Cheena-Bhavana associated with it have entered into a mutually advantageous agreement with us about research studies in and publication of selected Tibetan Texts of our collection by their scholars under our general guidance, and some progress has already been made in this work. The late Dr. Johnston's work on one of these selected Texts has been made available to the Society by his friend Sir Richard Burn, for publication.

IV—Journal.

During the period under review Parts 1 and 2 of Volume XXXII of the Society's Journal containing 196 pages have been published. Appendix, 42 pages of Index, to Paryaya-muktavali, a Sanskrit Lexicon, published last year, in the Journal, also has been appended to the Journal. The size of the Journal has been much reduced on account of Government's Paper Economy Control Order. Parts 3 and 4 of Vol. XXXII will come out soon, its delayed publication being due to press difficulty.

V—Library.

During the year 147 books (167 volumes) and 116 different issues of Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 22 were presented and 125 were purchased and of the Journals 2 were purchased and 114 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1946 the Library contained 9,730 volumes as compared with 9,563 volumes of the previous year.

S. C. SARKAR,
Honorary General Secretary.

2-4-47

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Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held in the New Gymnasium Hall of Patna College, Patna, on Sunday, the 4th April, 1948 at 6-30 p. m.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the New Gymnasium Hall, Patna College, Patna, on Sunday, the 4th April, 1948 at 6-30 p. m. His Excellency Sri Madhav Srihari Aney, Governor of Bihar, presiding.

The following formal business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.

2.(*a*) On a motion by Dr. K. K. Datta, the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1948-49 : —

President.—His Excellency Sri Madhav Srihari Aney.

Vice-President.—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Secretary.—Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).

Treasurer.—Saiyid Ahsan Shere, Esq., M. A. (London).

Librarian.—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D. (London).

Editorial Board.—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).
Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S. (Editor-in-Charge).
Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L.
Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M. A., Ph. D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
Dr Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S.
Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L.
J. N. Sarkar, Esq., M. A.
Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M. A., Ph. D.
Saiyid Mobarak Ali, Esq., M. L. A.
Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Sc.

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(*b*) Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari seconded the above motion.

3. The Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited Dr. Jadunath Sarkar to address the meeting.

6. A lecture was delivered by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar on "Rajputana—the Death of the Old Order at the end of the 18th Century".

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. The Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

S. C. SARKAR,

Honorary General Secretary.

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Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held in the office of the Society on Sunday, the 18th January 1948.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Sir S. Fazl Ali, Kt. (*in the Chair*).
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.
Dr. K. K. Datta.
Mr. S. A. Shere.
Dr. T. P. Chowdhury.
Khan Sahib S. H. Askari.
Prof. J. N. Sarkar.
Dr. S. C. Sarkar (*Secretary*).

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 12th October 1947.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months October to December 1947.

(*b*) Passed the following payments :—

		Rs.	a.	p.
(*i*)	Purchase of paper for Journal ..	122	0	0
(*ii*)	Printing charges of Paryayamuktavali reprints.	40	9	3
(*iii*)	Purchase of books from Messrs. B. H. Blackwell, Ltd.	62	3	3

3. Elected the following persons as ordinary members of the Society :—

(*i*) Sri Banbehari Prasad Sinha, Bela Garden, Darbhanga.
(*ii*) Miss Sudha Sinha, B. A., 6th Year, Patna College, Sinha Road, Patna.
(*iii*) Pandit Vibhutinath Jha, M. A., S. D. O., Godda.

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4. Approved exchange with the following Journals :—

(*i*) Visvabharati Annals, Cheena Bhavana, Santiniketana.

(*ii*) The Australian Outlook, The Australian Institute of International Affairs.

(*iii*) The Oceania Australian Research Council.

Exchange with Sodhapatrika, Udaipur should wait for some time until a fixed and suitable standard is attained.

5. The following arrangements for the next Annual Meeting were agreed upon :—

(*a*) Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P Sinha will fix up with His Excellency Mr. M. S. Aney about his acceptance of the ex-officio position of Patron and President of the Bihar Research Society, and about his presiding as such over the next Annual Meeting of the Society.

(*b*) The only 2 dates suitable are (in order of preference) 21st March and 4th April 1948.

(*c*) These three Scholars may be approached, in order, for giving the public lecture on the occasion of the Annual Meeting :—

(*i*) Sir J. N. Sarkar, Kt., Calcutta.

(*ii*) Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

(*iii*) Dr. Chabra, Government of India Epigraphist.

(*d*) The changes in the office-bearers for the next year to be proposed as follows :—

(*i*) Sir S. Fazl Ali, Kt., to become one of the Vice-Patrons.

(*ii*) Justice B. P. Sinha to become Vice-President in his place.

(*iii*) The Editorial Board to include Justice B. P. Sinha, in place of Sir S. Fazl Ali.

(*iv*) In the Council Membership—

(*a*) Sir Fazl Ali drops.

(*b*) Justice B. P. Sinha remains.

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(*c*) Syed Mobarak Ali, M. L. A., if he becomes a member of the Bihar Research Society, in place of the late Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

(*d*) Dr. D. M. Dutt, Patna College, if he becomes a member of the Bihar Research Society in place of Mr. M. S. Rao.

(*e*) Dr. S. C. Chatterji, Patna College, if he becomes a member of the Bihar Research Society in place of Sir S. Fazl Ali.

(*f*) Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, Education Department, if he consents to serve on the Council.

6. Considered the matter of printing the Journal: agreed that Messrs. Pen & Ink, Ltd. of Fraser Road, Patna (Manager Mr. B. K. Roy), be asked to quote terms and inform details regarding kind of printing (Diacritical marks, etc.).

S. C. SARKAR,
Honorary General Secretary,
23-9-48.

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चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

(प्रविशति सचिन्तो नलो विदूषकश्च)

नलः—(सचिन्तम्) अहो अन्तरायबहुलाः प्रियजनसमागमाः । मध्येपथमेवैभिस्तपस्विभिर्यज्ञरक्षायै प्रार्थितोऽस्मि । कथं वा स्वधर्ममवधूय कुण्डिनपुरं प्रयामि । भवतु, सर्वथा समाप्त एव तपस्विनामवभृथोत्सवे पुनः प्रस्थास्ये । (प्रकाशम्) वयस्य माधव, सम्प्रति सेनापतिना तपोवनोपरोधपरिहाराय बहिर्निवेशितान्येव सैन्यानि । तदेहि तपोवनोपकण्ठस्य रामणीयकं पश्यावः । (इति परिक्रामतः)

नलः—(परितोऽवलोक्य) वयस्य, अतिरमणीयोऽयमुद्देशः । पश्य—

क्वचिन्मरिचपल्लवं कवलयन्ति हारीतकाः
क्वचिच्चपलचञ्चवः शुकवरा इमे दाडिमे ।
रसालमुकुले क्वचिद्रसभरः पिकैः पीयते
क्वचिच्च दयिताधरं धयति मत्तपारावतः ॥१॥

(स्तोकमन्तरमेत्य) वयस्य, अस्मिन्सरसरसत्सारसे सरसि—

प्रत्यग्रकुंकुमनिभारुणरश्मिरक्त
व्यक्तानुरागमिव चक्रपतत्रियुग्मम् ।
सौत्सुक्यमेतदितरेतरवक्त्रचुम्बि-
प्राप्तोत्यमन्दमदनप्रमदप्रकर्षम् ॥२॥

विदूषकः—एव्वं तुमं पि होहि ।[1]

नलः—(अश्रुत्वैव) वयस्य, अत्र तावत्प्रच्छायशीतले कङ्केलितले उपविशावः । (इति तथा कुरुतः)

(चित्रं हस्तस्थं दर्शयित्वा) वयस्य, विप्रलम्भावस्थायास्ते सख्याश्चित्रमिदं प्रतिभाति । तथाहि—

मृणालललितातनुं भुजलतामपास्य स्थिता
स्मरज्वरभृताङ्गकव्यतिकरावशुष्यत्तरे ।
नवोननलिनीदलाकलितपाण्डुतल्पाञ्चले
विभातु शरदि स्फुटं शशिकलेव मेघान्तरे ॥ ३ ॥

कथितमपि कुण्डिनेशस्य दूतेन सहैव प्रेषितया प्रियंवदाभिधानया सारिकया ;

१. एवं त्वमपि भव ।

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विदूषकः —किमिव ?[1]

नलः —रतिप्रियेण प्रसभं तवार्पिता
सुता विदर्भाधिपतेर्भवत्कृते ।
व्यथामनल्पामधिगम्य साम्प्रतं
न निर्वृतिं यात्यमृतद्युतावपि ॥ ४ ॥

किञ्च—स्वप्नेषु भैमी रतिजीवितेन
देवेन दत्तामुपलभ्य शिक्षाम् ।
विहाय भोगांस्त्रिदिवे दुरापां—
स्त्वदेकचित्ता किल सम्प्रतीयभ् ॥ ५ ॥

(सबाष्पगद्गदम्) वयस्य, साम्प्रतं पश्य मेऽवस्थाम्—
ध्यायं ध्यायं मधुरमधुरं श्रेयसीवक्त्रपद्मं
धृत्वा धृत्वा धृतिमथ गलद्बन्धनं कामबाणैः ।
विद्धं विद्धं विधुरविधुरं शून्यभूयं दधानं
दूनं दूनं हृदयकुसुमं मामकं म्लायतीदम् ॥ ६ ॥

(इति मूर्च्छति)

विदूषकः —(चेतनामुपनीय) वअस्स, मा समधिअं आआसं किधा ।

राजा —वयस्य, किं करोमि, शम्बरारेः शाम्बर्या वितीर्णं मोहमपासितुं न पारये ।

(नेपथ्ये)

अब्रह्मण्यम् । परित्रायतां महाराजः परित्रायताम् ।
यावन्महर्षिभिरमूं परिशोध्य वेदीं
न स्थापितो हुतवहो भगवान् समन्त्रम् ।
तावद्व्यदूषि पिशिताशनवर्गधुर्यै-
रक्तो क्षणेन ननु मण्डपमेव सर्वम् ॥ ७ ॥

राजा —(श्रुतिमभिनीय) न भेतव्यम् । कथमरे यातुधानापसदाः कथं स्मृति मयि सुदूरं प्रगल्भध्वे !

(ढक्कैः) नम्वेषः—

आसप्तनीरनिधितीरमनन्तभूम—
भूभृद्व्रजोपहृतरत्नमरीचिजालैः ।
नीराजितो रिपुनृपालकरालकाल-
दण्डोऽङ्घ्रिदण्ड उपयातु शिरस्तटं वः ॥ ८ ॥

१. किमिव ।
२. वयस्य मा समधिकमायासं कृथाः ।

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(पुनर्नेपथ्ये भिन्नस्वरेण)

आस्ते कोऽपि यदि क्षमः स कुरुतां कोदण्डदण्डं करे
क्षुद्रक्षोणिपलक्षवीर्यविभवक्षोदक्षमोहं क्षणात् ।
व्याक्षिप्तक्रतुसंविधानमुदयत्त्रासेषु विप्रेष्विदं
वातायुष्विव साम्प्रतं वितनवै शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ॥९॥

नल :—आः पापान्तर्धानगर्वितराक्षसाधम, अनुभूयतामुचितं क्रतुविनाशनस्य फलम् । (धनुषि समन्त्रकं बाणमारोप्य)

येनोदितास्तु पशुना पिशिताशनेन
वर्णाः स्वगर्वपिशुनास्त्वरितं तदीयम् ।
पीत्वा प्रसह्य रुधिरं हृदयस्य तूर्णं
तूणीरमाव्रजतु शब्दभिदेष बाणः ॥१०॥

(इति नेपथ्याभिमुखमाकाशे शरं विमुञ्चति)

(नेपथ्ये तारतरचीत्कारोत्तरं बहूनां जनानां पलायनध्वनिः)

उभौ —(सविस्मयमाकर्णयतः)

(पुनर्नेपथ्ये)

जय नृप निहतारे राक्षसास्ते शरेण-
च्छलकृतमुनिवेषा नाशिताः सर्व एव ।
व्रज विघटितविघ्नं सप्रमोदं विदर्भान्
भवतु भवति धन्या वीक्षिता भीमकन्या ॥ ११ ॥

नल :—(ऊर्ध्वमवलोक्य) अवे कथमिमे सिद्धगणा मामाशिषाभिनन्दन्ति ! तत्किमेते राक्षसा एवार्धपथे मामुपरोद्धुमागता न मुनयः !

विदूषकः—वअस्स, बहुमाआ हि रक्खसा सुणिज्जन्ति ता किं चित्तं[1]

नल :—भवतु प्रसङ्गादिदमपि देवकार्यं निर्वर्त्तितम् । तद्वयस्य मुहूर्त्तमत्र शीतच्छायेऽशोकतले समुपविशावः ।

(इत्युपविष्ट)

नल :—सखे, अपि नामैते राक्षसाः कुण्डिनपुरेऽप्येवं मायां कुर्युः ? अथवा सर्वेश्वरः क्षेमं विधास्यति । किमत्र बहुशो विचिन्तनेन ।

विदूषक :—जधाह प्पिअवअस्सो ।[2]

नल :—सखे निष्करुणो मदनोऽतिवेलं तापयति माम् ।

१. वयस्य बहुमाया हि राक्षसाः श्रूयन्ते तत्किं चित्रम् ।
२. यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

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नूनम्—

विरहिणीवदनद्विजपत्यसु—
क्षतिमहावृजिनं कृतवानहो ।
त्रिनयनानलमाप्य मृतोऽपि स—
न्मनसिजो गतवान्स पिशाचताम् ॥१२॥
अन्यथानङ्गः कथं प्रहरेत् ।

हा वयस्य दक्षिणानल, त्वमप्येवं मद्भाग्यविपर्ययाद्विषममाचरसि ! अथवा—

पाटीद्रुमकोटरोदरचरत्काकोदरश्वासजै—
रालिप्तो गरलैरलं प्रचलयन्पत्राणि वित्रासदः ।
कन्दर्पेण रयाद्वियोगिहरिणव्यापादनायेरितो—
नूनं सह्यशिलालिघर्षणवशात्तीक्ष्णो भवानाशुगः ॥ १३ ॥

(सविषादम्), वयस्य, किं करोम्येवमुपालब्धावपीमौ न लज्जेते। का गतिः।

(चिन्तं निर्वर्ण्य)

अपि श्वसितबिक्लवं तदधरं पिबेयं द्रुतं
प्रिये ननु मनागिमौ श्रयतु ते कपौलौ स्मितम् ।
प्रपञ्च्य किलकिञ्चितं चिततनुं स्मरस्येषुभिः
कृतार्थय पदाब्जयोरुपनतं तवेमं जनम् ॥ १४ ॥

विदूषक :— (स्वगतम्) अम्महे अदिभूमिं गदो इमस्स मणोरहो। (प्रकाशम्) वअस्स कहिं णाम तुह प्पिआ ? चित्तं क्खु एदं[1]

राजा—हा धिक् कथं चित्रमिदम् ! (इति मूर्च्छति)

विदूषक :—(पटान्तेन बीजयति।)

(नेपथ्ये)

निबधजनपदेन्द्रं द्रष्टुमौत्सुक्यभाज-
स्तपनरुचिरहैमस्यन्दनैरिन्द्रमुख्याः ।
परिमलपरिपूर्णोदारमन्दारमाला-
स्ततिमनु गहनानामागता लोकपालाः ॥ १४ ॥

राजा—(उच्छ्वस्य अये कथं लोकपाला मां द्रष्टुमागतास्तद्गत्वा संभावयामः।

१. अहो अतिभूमिं गतोऽस्य मनोरथः। वयस्य कुत्र नाम तव प्रिया ? चित्रं खल्वेतत्।

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(निष्क्रान्तौ)

जनकचरणचिन्तावाप्तविज्ञानलेशो-
व्यधित यदतिहृद्यं सूरिरामावतारः ।
रसभरपरिपूर्णे नाटकेऽस्मिंश्चतुर्थो-
व्यगलदनवशेषक्षीणपङ्कोऽयमङ्कः ॥ १६ ॥

इति चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

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पञ्चमोऽङ्कः ।

(प्रविशतः पुष्पावचयं नाटयन्त्यौ सख्यौ)

एका—सहि दिट्ठिआ तेण मुणिणा संडिल्लेण णलरूवादो महाराअवञ्चणत्थं समाअदादो रक्खसादो रक्खिदा भट्टिदारिआ तेणहि मुणिणा एदं संदिट्ठम् ॥[1]

रक्षोऽधमोऽयं नलरूपडधारी
समागतस्ते नृपवञ्चनाय ।
मायाविनामा कलिना प्रयुक्त—
स्तदप्रमादो भव घातयैनम् ॥ १ ॥

द्वितीया—सहि तदो तदो ।[2]

प्रथमा—तदो एवूवं संदेसं घेत्तूण आअदमत्तम्मि मुणिसिस्सम्मि अन्तहिदो सो रक्खसो सबरिअणो ।[3]

द्वितीया—सहि, अदो ज्जेव रक्खसो पहवादो भत्तिदारिआ विमणाअदि संपदं ।[4]

प्रथमा—अण्णं बि कारणं । ए अदा देए हिं वितिण्णं तद्धाणसिद्धी णज्जो सुद्धन्तं आअदो । लोअबालाणं कंबि भत्तारं वरेहीत्तिच भत्तिदारिआं संदिट्ठवां । तदो तुमं ज्जेव मह भत्ता णाणो होदुं अरिहदि । एव्वं च—(संस्कृतमाश्रित्य)[5]

देवानां यदि निरवग्रहो ग्रहोऽयं
ते कामं सह भवता स्वयंवरं मे ।
आयान्तु स्वयमहमेभिरेव तुभ्यं
दास्ये न स्वमपि तथापराधभाक् स्याः ॥ २ ॥

एव्वं भत्तिदारिआए संदिट्ठं, तदो लोअबालभआदो विग्घं सक्कन्ती सा विमणा अदि ।[6]

द्वितीया—जुज्जदि । ता एहि जामो ।[7] (निष्क्रान्ते)

विष्कम्भकः

१. सखि, दिष्ट्या तेन मुनिना शाण्डिल्येन नलरूपान्महाराजवञ्चनार्थं समागताद्राक्षसाद्रक्षिता भर्तृदारिका तेन हि मुनिना एतत्संदिष्टम् ।

२. सखि, ततस्ततः ।

३. तत एवं संदेशं गृहीत्वा आगतमात्रे मुनिशिष्ये अन्तर्हितोऽसौ राक्षसः सपत्निजनः ।

४. सखि, अतएव राक्षसोपद्रवाद्भर्तृदारिका विमनायते साम्प्रतम् ।

५. अन्यदपि कारणम् । एकदा देवैर्वितीर्णातिधानसिद्धिर्नलः शुद्धान्तमागतः। लोकपालानां कमपि भर्तारं वरयेति भर्तृदारिकां संदिष्टवान् । ततस्त्वमेव मम भर्त्ता नान्यो भवितुमर्हति । एवं च ।

६. एवं भर्तृदारिकया संदिष्टम् । ततो लोकपालभयाद्विघ्नं शङ्कमाना सा विमनायते ।

७. युज्यते । तदेहियावः ।

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(प्रविशति सचिन्तो नलः)

नलः—अहो तदा गृहीतदूत्ये मयि कीदृशीमवस्थां मैभी समन्वभवत्। हन्त।

निबन्धमारचयति प्रचुरं दिगीश-
संतोषणाय मयि मन्युविकम्पितोष्ठम्।
सा यत्सखीं प्रचलिता सरयं निरस्य
चेतो न मुञ्चति चिरादपि तन्मदीयम् ॥३॥

किंच—दूत्यान्नृशंसमनपेक्षितमूरिभावं
श्रोत्राध्वभेदि वचनं मयि भाषमाणे।
नीहारहारितरुचो रसिताब्जयोस्त-
न्नेत्रे श्रियं श्रितवती मनसो न यातः ॥४॥

(सविषादम्) हा बज्रमयचित्त, एतावतापि न व्यथा ते जाता? तदा—

कामाङ्कुशैः सुनयनानयनाञ्चलैस्त्व-
मुत्तोदितोऽपि परुषत्वमनूनयन्हा।
गम्भीरवेदिनमनेकपमन्वकार्षीः
किं साम्प्रतं व्रजसि शोकमकाण्ड एव ॥५॥

(साशंसम्) अपि श्वसितकम्पितस्तनमदम्भरम्याधरं
सदाश्रुजलनिर्गलन्नयनकज्जलं सुभ्रुवः।
वपुर्विरहवेदनाविधुरमङ्कपाल्यामहं
विधाय गुरुसंभ्रमोपचितमानसः स्यां कदा ॥६॥

(नेपथ्ये) ननु अविलम्बितमेव (इत्यर्धोक्ते)

नलः—(श्रुतमभिनीय) कथमविलम्बितमेवेत्युत्तरं वितीर्णं दैवेन। (दक्षिण-बाहुस्पन्दं सूचयति,)

(पुनर्नेपथ्ये) ननु अविलम्बितमेव सज्जीभवतं प्रियसख्यौ। गौरीपूजनाय याम्यहम्।

नलः—(नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य) अये कथमत्रैवोद्याने गौरीपूजनाय भैमी सह सखीभ्यां समायाति! तदत्रैव लोकपालप्रभावाधिगतयान्तर्धानविद्ययादृश्यो भूत्वा श्टणोम्यासां विस्रम्भालापान्। (इति तथा करोति)

(ततः प्रविशति भैमी गृहीतपूजासंभारे सख्यौ च)

दमयन्ती—सखि कमले, अत्यन्तं निस्सहानि मेऽङ्गकानि नान्यमपि गन्तुं प्रभवन्ति। तदियं गौरी भगवती। पूजयामीमाम् (इति तथा करोति)

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नलः—अहो संनिधानवशात्सम्प्रति स्फुटमस्या अङ्गानां लावण्यं विभाव्यते। (निपुणं निरूप्य) हन्त ! कथं निराभरणैवेयमस्ति ? (सविमर्शम्) अथवा सहजेनास्या लावण्येन तिरोहिताभरणलक्ष्मीरितिमन्ये। तथाहि—

हेमावदाततनुबाहुलताद्वयेऽस्मिन्
शोभा न विस्फुरति हेमविभूषणानाम्।
तत्रत्यरम्यकुरुविन्ददलप्रभापि
पाण्योर्विसारिरुचिभिर्ननु भर्त्सितैव ॥ ७

किञ्च—श्रवणाश्रितं हि नयनोत्पलद्वयं
श्रवणोत्पले विधुरयत्यनारतम्।
स्मरघर्मवारिकणभूषितौ स्तनौ
न च हारभाररुचिमञ्चतो मनाक् ॥ ८

(निभृतं निर्वर्ण्य) अये इदमप्यपरं रम्यतमं विभाति।

ताटङ्कयुग्ममनुकर्णतिटं निबद्धं
क्षोभाय कामुकजनस्य मनोभुवेव।
वामा मुखं हितमपाङ्गशरावलीना-
मुत्तेजनाय ननु शाणयुगं बिभर्ति ॥ ९

[सकौतुकम्] इतश्च—

संधाय तन्व्याः कुचयुग्ममेत
त्परस्परं मन्मथवाणबाधाम्।
विधूय शश्वत्कृशितेतराङ्गां
समेधते संधिबलं महर्द्धिः ॥ १० ॥

(सविस्मयम्) इतश्च—

जलजन्मनः शरणमद्य जितं
भवतानुकम्प्यमिति वक्तुमिव
चरणोत्पलद्वयमुपाश्रयते
कलकूजिहंसकयुगं सुतनोः ॥ ११ ॥

भवतु, किमप्यालपन्तीव लक्ष्यते तदाकर्णयामि

दमयन्ती—(गौर्याश्चरणयोः पुष्पाञ्जलिं विकीर्य प्रणम्रीभूय) भगवति,

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वृन्दारकप्रणयिनीकरकीर्यमाण-
मन्दारमाल्यमकरन्दमिलन्मिलिन्दे ।
वन्दारुवृन्दगुरुनन्दनमन्दिरे ते ।
वन्दामहेम्ब सततं चरणारविन्दे ॥१२॥

[नल :—(स्वगतम्) अहो माधुर्यमस्या वाणीषु ! मन्ये साक्षाद्भगवती सरस्वती वदनमेतदीयमधिशेते ।

कमला—(संस्कृतमाश्रित्य)

मङ्गल्याङ्गणमनङ्गसुन्दरं
कुन्दकान्तिहरदन्तमौक्तिका ।
चन्द्रनन्दिवदनाम्बुजा पतिं
प्राप्नुयाद्द्रुतमियं सखी मम ॥१३॥

नल : | (स्वगतम्) सखि कमले, चन्द्रादीनामुपमोपन्यासाद्प्राप्यतैव लक्ष्यते कूव तावदिदं मुखं क वा स वराको राकारजनीरमण : !

दमयन्ती—सखि, निर्वर्तितं पूजनं तद्दिदानीं गच्छामः (सवैलक्ष्यं विमृश्य) कमले साम्प्रतं न पारयामि जीवितं धारयितुम् । पश्य—

प्राणाधिको मम तथा यदि नैषधोऽपि
पारुष्यमाश्रयति हन्त दयां विहाय ।
पापा तदा कथमिदं हतजीवितं हा
धृत्वा पतान्यनुशयाम्बुनिधौ दुरन्ते ॥ १४ ॥

(इति मूर्च्छति)

सरय्वौ—(नलिनीदलैरुपवीज्य सविषादम्) हा कधं चिरं उपवीइदा वि ण उच्छ्वसिदि (दीर्घं निश्वस्य) हा लोअबालाए एत्तिकं ज्जेव अहिलसिदं तुम्हाणं ? हा महाराअ नैसध कुदो एदं अवत्थन्तरं गदा अत्तणो दयिदा ण ओलम्बसि ? [1] (संस्कृतमाश्रित्य) हा हतविधे—

भीमाबनीन्द्रतनुजां विबुधेन्द्रतुल्ये
रक्तां नले विरहवह्निविताप्यमानाम् ।
मूर्च्छां गतामहह कोपि न पश्यतीमां
दैवस्य दुर्विलसितं हि गिरामगम्यम् ॥ १५ ॥

१. हा कथं चिरमुपवीजिता अपि न उच्छ्वसिति । (दीर्घं निश्वस्य) हा लोकपाला एतावदेव अभिलषितं युष्माकम् ? हा महाराज नैषध, कुत एतदवस्थान्तरं गतामात्मनो दयितां न अवलम्बसे ।

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नलः-(ससम्भ्रमम्) अहह संप्रति न धैर्यमवलम्बितुमुत्सहे। (इति कथंचिदुपसृत्य पाणिना भैमीं स्पृशति)

दमयन्ती—(मीलितलोचनैव) सखि अन्यादृशएव ते करस्पर्शः प्रतिभाति। अमृतेनेवानेन तव स्पर्शेनोज्जीविताऽस्मि।

कमला—अयि मुद्धे, अहं दूरादो म्हि, किं अलीअं भणासि?[1]

नलः (स्वगतम्) दिष्ट्या प्रत्युज्जीवितेयं तदुपसरामि। (विमृश्य) अहो हर्षजडीभूत इव मे करो नेतः प्रचलति। (इति कथंचिदुपसृतः)

दमयन्ती—(मीलितलोचना सखीवाक्यमश्रुत्वैव) सखि, किमिति सत्वरमपसृतासि पहि पुनरपि तादृशेनामृतभूतेन स्पर्शेन संभावय माम्। (इति नेत्रे उन्मीलयति)

नलः—(स्वगतम्)

ननु सुतनु तवैव स्पर्शनान्निर्वृतिर्मे
नवघनजललाभा चातकस्येव जाता।
इयममृतमनोज्ञा श्रोत्रमामोदयन्ती
पुनरपि तव वाणी हारिणी कर्णमेतु॥ १६॥

कमला—सहि सच्चं भणीअदि। मया हि ण तुह प्फंसो किदो।[2]

दमयन्ती—अत्र न कोऽप्यन्योस्ति, तत्केन स्पृष्टाहं मन्ये त्वयव परिहासार्थं गोप्यते मया स्पृष्टासीति

(नेपथ्ये)

स्वयंवरः श्वो भवितेति देवी
प्रसांत्त्वनायाद्य निजात्मजायाः।
प्रासादमभ्येति समर्च्य देवं
रमापतिं मङ्गलमूलभूतम्॥ १७॥

दमयन्ती—अहो प्रमादः। चिरायितमत्रास्माभिः। अम्बा प्रासादमागता तत्सत्वरं लंभावयामः। (इति निष्क्रान्ताः)

नलः—हा कथं गता एव। (सवैलक्ष्यम्) हा निष्करुण दैव,

तल्लीलाञ्चितचारुलोचनमहो वक्तुं चिरं नेक्षितं
वाचो नापि यथेष्टमाश्रितसुधासाराः समास्वादिताः।
नैवान्तः करणस्य निर्वृतिरभूत्तत्संनिधानादलं
किं जातेपि समागमे सपदि हा विघ्नः कृतोऽयं त्वया॥१८॥

१. अयि मुग्धे, अहं दूरतोऽस्मि, किमलीकं भणसि?

२. सखि, सत्यं भण्यते, मया हि न तव स्पर्शः कृतः।

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(ऊर्ध्वमवलोक्य) कथं मध्याह्नः संवृत्तः। तथाहि—

प्रत्यग्राम्बुजिनीदलान्तरगतः प्राणाधिकां सारसः
पक्षाभ्यामुपवीजयत्ययमलिर्नीलोत्पलश्यामलः।
प्रेयस्यास्तृषमूर्जितां शमयितुं दूरान्मधून्यानय-
न्नस्यै यच्छति तन्मुखाच्च मुदितो लीढे रसादाहृतः॥ १९॥

तत्संध्योपासनाय शिविरमेवानुप्रविशामि। (निष्क्रान्तः)

जनक च रण चिन्ता वाप्तविज्ञानलेशो-
व्यधित यदतिहृद्यं सूरिरामावतारः।
रसभरपरिपूर्णे नाटके पञ्चमोऽस्मिन्-
व्यगलदनवशेषक्षीणपङ्काऽयमङ्कः॥ २०॥

इति पञ्चमोऽङ्कः॥

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षष्ठोऽङ्कः ।

(प्रविशति प्रहृष्टः सिन्दूराञ्चितश्मश्रुः पीतवस्त्रधारी दधिविलिप्ललाटः कज्जलोपचित-कपोलो विदूषकः ।)

विदूषकः— हीहीभो कहं सोहम्हि एदेण प्पसाहणेण, मण्णे महज्जेव बह्मणस्स तोसत्थं वअस्सस्स विआहमहूच्छओ जादो । लड्डुआ भक्खिदा, वत्थाइं लद्धाइं ।

(प्रविश्य)

वामनकः— साहु बह्मण, साहु सोहसि अणेण प्पसाहणेण [2]

विदूषकः— अवेहिरे दासीए पुत्तअ, उवहससि मं । [3]

वामनकः— ण उवहसम्मि, णणु जरढ भल्लुओ विअ साहु सोहसि त्ति भणम्हि । [4]

विदूषकः— णणु तुमं कुदो मण्डुओ विअ अणेण जिण्णचेलेण परिविदो भ्भमसि । [5]

वामनकः— णणु देवीए सहीए बितिण्णं एदं चीणंसुअं, मा दाव हत्थिणो मं तुंगं दट्ठूण करुहिदा होन्तुत्ति एदेण परिविदो भ्भमम्हि । [6]

विदूषकः— साहु तु कणिट्ठामेत्तेण सरीरेण दिट्ठेण हत्थिणां क्खोहो । भण कहि वअस्सो । [7]

वामनकः— भट्टिणीं दट्ठुं गच्छेइ । [8]

विदूषकः—हिंबि तहिं जेव जाम्हि । (निष्क्रान्तौ) [9]

विष्कम्भकः ।

(प्रविशति कौतुकितान्तरङ्गो राजा)

नलः— अहो चिरान्मे संप्रति मनोरथोपपत्तिर्जाता !

१. ही ही भोः कथं शोभे एतेन प्रसाधनेन । मन्ये ममैव ब्राह्मणस्य लोपार्थं वयस्यस्य विवाहमहोत्सवो जातः । लड्डुका भक्षिताः । वस्त्राणि लब्धानि ।

२. साधु ब्राह्मण साधु शोभसे अनेन प्रसाधनेन ।

३. अपेहि रे दास्वाः पुत्र उपहससि माम् ।

४. न उपहसामि ननु जरठभल्लुक इव साधु शोभसे इति भणामि ।

५. ननु त्वं कुतो मण्डूक इव अनेन जीर्णचेलेन परिवृतो भ्रमसि ।

६. ननु देव्याः सख्या वितीर्णमेतच्चीनांशुकम् । मा तद्बह्स्तिनो मां तुंगं दृष्ट्वा क्षुभिता भवन्तु इति एतेन परिवृतो भ्रमामि ।

७. साधु तव कनिष्ठा मात्रेण शरीरेण दृष्टेन हस्तिनां क्षोभः । भण कुत्र वयस्यः ।

८. भट्टिनीं द्रष्टुं गच्छति ।

९. अहमपि तत्रैव यामि ।

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तथाहि— अलङ्कितरदांशुकस्मितमलक्ष्यनेत्राञ्चल—
प्रचारय भृशोदयन्मणितमस्फुरद्भ्रूलतम् !
अपूर्णकलाङ्गकेक्षणकुतूहलं दुर्लभ
जनः कृततपश्चयो वत लभेत मुग्धारतम् ॥१॥

(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः— जअदु जअदु पिअवअस्सो। अवि णाम णवबधूलाहादो सुप्पहादा रअणी पिअबअस्सस्स ।[1]

राजा—ननु भवति शुभचिन्तके किंन सुलभम् । तद्वयस्य, साम्प्रतं निर्वर्तितकृत्योस्मीति देवीं द्रष्टुमिच्छामि । तत् त्वमपि मया सहैवागच्छ (इत्युभौ परिक्रम्य) कथमियं देवी सखीभ्यां सह किमपि मन्त्रयन्तीव दृश्यते ।

(ततः प्रविशन्ति यथा निर्दिष्टा देवी सख्यौ च)

कमला—सहि, अलंअण्णधा संभावणाए । अणुऊलो महाराओ कखु ।[2]

राजा—वयस्य, मत्संबद्धैव वार्त्ता तदिहैव स्थित्वा श्रृणुमः ।

(इति तथा कुरुतः)

दमयन्ती—सखि न ते वचने प्रत्येमि ।

कमला— णणु सह वअणम्मि ण पच्चओ होदु । (तवैव सापत्न्यभयान्न निद्रयापि संगच्छते महाराज इति) महोवआरिणो पत्तिराअस्स बअणम्मि किं ण पत्तेसि ॥[3]

राजा—अहो किंनु स्यात् ? किं मयैव किमपि स्खलितम् ?

दमयन्ती—अयि किमेवं मां वञ्चयसि ? तेषु किल दिवसेषु तथा भवेदार्यपुत्रस्य चेतोवृत्तिः ।

राजा—(सानुशयम्) वयस्य, अपि किंचिल्लक्षयसि ?

विदूषकः— हंहो पिअवअस्स, हं बह्मणो मोअएक्करसएणो कहं णाम एदाणं बक्कवअणाणं अत्थं जाणिस्सं ।[4]

राजा—भवतु स्वयमेवाग्रतः स्फुटीभविष्यति ।

कमला— अयि मिसा णिबंधग्गहिले एसा प्पदिकिदी तुहज्जेव ।[5]

राजा— (सानुतापम्) अहो सामान्योपलब्धा देव्याः प्रतिकृतिर्गोपयितुं विस्मृता मन्ये तामेव दृष्ट्वा देव्यान्यश्चैव परिशङ्कितम् । भवतु, शृणोमि किं तावत्प्रतिपद्यते देवी ।

१. जयतु जयतु प्रियवयस्यः । अपि नाम नववधूलाभात्सुप्रभाता रजनी प्रियवयस्यस्य ।
२. सखि अलं अन्यथा संभावनया । अनुकूलो महाराजः खलु ।
३. ननु मम वचने न प्रत्ययो भवतु । (तवैव .....इति) महोपकारिणः पतत्रिराजस्य वचने किं न प्रत्येषि ।
४. हंहो प्रियवयस्य अहं ब्राह्मणो मोदकैकरसज्ञः कथं नाम कथमेतेषां वक्रवचनानामर्थं ज्ञास्यामि ।
५. अयि मृषा निर्बन्धग्रहिले एषा प्रतिकृतिस्तवैव ।

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दमयन्ती—सखि, किं न पश्यसि ।

कुचकुड्मलयुगनचिरोद्भिन्ननखामृष्टमञ्जुलं भाति ।

अयमधरपल्लवोऽप्यप्रचुरितरागो रदैरस्पृष्टः ॥२॥

तत्कस्याश्चित्कुमार्या आर्यपुत्रेण बहुमतायाः प्रतिकृतिरियम् ।

नलः—अहो मुग्धतातिशयो यत्कुमारीभावस्थस्यात्मनः प्रतिकृतिमन्यथैव संभावयति देवी ।

कमला— णणु मह उणो त्थणकुम्हा प्पिअकरपरिमर्दपिहुला अहरबिंबं पि प्पिअ-विस्सद्धपरिचुम्बणसमेहिदरागभंत्ति बक्कसेसो कुदो गोविदो । णणु मुद्धे अलिअपरिसंकिदे, इमाइं प्पेक्ख (इति प्रतिकृतेर्भ्रुमध्ये स्थिते पिष्टलुनामिके भीमवंश्यानामसाधारणचिह्ने दर्शयति ।)[1]

दमयन्ती— (सुनिपुणं निरूप्य) सखि, सुष्ठूपलक्षितं त्वया, मयैवात्र भ्रान्तं तदयं वृत्तान्त आर्यपुत्रस्य न वर्णनीयः ।

नलः— अवसरोयमात्मानं दर्शयितुम् ।

विदूषकः— (उपसृत्य)जअदु जअदु देवी ।[2]

नलः— (उपसृत्य) देवि किमिवाद्य विमनायमानामिव देवीं पश्यामि ।

दमयन्ती— (कमलायै चित्रगोपनाय संज्ञां करोति)

कमला — (अबुद्ध्वैव) महाराअ ण किम्पि केअलं चित्तं एदं (इत्यर्द्धोक्ते)[3]

दमयन्ती — (सरोषं तां पश्यन्ती समुत्थाय चलिता)

राजा — (अवष्टभ्य) अयि सुतनु, अलं कोपेनास्यां वराक्यां सर्वं श्रुतमेव मया । कृतमत्र व्यलीकेन ।

सुतनु जहिहि रोषं पश्य मञ्जीरयुग्मं

(झटिति) रसति परिचलन्त्यां त्वय्यलं श्रोणिभारात् ।

अधिगतनिजवासस्थानपादाब्जबाधं

ध्रुवमिदमनुकम्पां याचते शिञ्जितेन ॥ ३ ॥

१. ननु मम पुनः स्तनकुम्भौ प्रियकरपरिमर्दपृथुलौ अधरबिम्बमपि प्रियविस्रब्ध-परिचुम्बनसमेधितरागमिति वाक्यशेषः कुतो गोपितः । ननु मुग्धे अलीकपरिशङ्किते इमे प्रेक्षस्व ।

२. जयतु जयतु देवी ।

३. महाराज केवलं चित्रमेतत् ।

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अपिच— मदिराक्षि वीक्ष्य तव रोषनृभ्भणा—
दतिवेलवेल्लितमरालिते भ्रुवौ ।
श्रयते जवादपि गुरू कुचाविमौ
बत वेपथुस्तनुवलमद्दुःसहः ॥४॥
तत्प्रसीद शतपत्रलोचने
रोचनेयमनुगण्डमुद्रतैः।
मार्जिमा श्रमजलस्य शीकरै-
र्दास एष चरणौ स्पृशामि ते ॥ ५

(इति चरणौ स्प्रष्टुमिच्छति ।)

दमयन्ती— (ससाध्वसं किंचिदपक्रम्य संकोचिताङ्गी स्थिता)

कमला — णणु एदं आसणं बिहूसेदु महाराओ ।[1]

दमयन्ती — (सख्यै नखोपवेशनाय संज्ञां करोति)

सखी — महाराअ पसण्णाहं त्ति भणादि एसा तं उवविसदु महाराओ। (राजा उपविशति दमयन्त्यपि भूमावुपविशति)[2]

राजा — ननु देवी, इदमद्धासनमलंकरोतु देवी। (इत्युत्थाप्य कथंचित्सलज्जां पार्श्वे निवेश्य) देवि, किमिदमकाराडे लज्जसे ? पश्य ——

चञ्चद्विपञ्चिमधुरारवरम्यवाणि
प्रत्यग्रताम्ररसचारुविसारिनेत्रे ।
दासोऽयमुन्नतिमदप्यखिलं च राज्यं
सर्वं तवैव ननु सुन्दरि यन्मदीयम् ॥६॥

(प्रविश्य संभ्रान्तः)

कञ्चुकी—देव नाशितम् ।

राजा—अये केन ?

कञ्चुकी—देव बन्धुना (इति व्याकुलतां नाटयति) ।

राजा—(सक्रोधम्) विगृद्धापसद, किमस्थाने प्रलपसि? ननु जरया समं तेऽक्षै मतिरपि शिथिलीकृता ।

कञ्चुकी—(सभयम्) देव, वदामि नाशितं बन्धुना सर्वम् ।

राजा—आः मूढ, ननु स्फुटमभिधीयताम् । किमेवमसंगतं प्रलपन्संभ्रान्तोसि ?

१. ननु एतदासनं विभूषयतु महाराजः ।

२. महाराजा प्रसन्नाहमिति भणत्येषा तदुपविशतु महाराजः ।

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कञ्चुकी—(सत्रासम्) देव, ननु सर्वं श्रूयताम् ।

राजा—कथय ।

कञ्चुकी—देव,

नाशितं बन्धुना सर्वमुद्यानं मरुतस्तव ।
रोदोन्तरवलज्ज्वालाजालैर्दलयता जनान् ॥ ७॥

(नेपथ्ये महान्कलकलः)

राजा—(ससंभ्रममूर्ध्वमवलोक्य)अहो सत्यमेव महोत्पातानां संरम्भः । तथाहि—

ज्वालाजालैर्जनानां ज्वरमुपजनयञ्जातवेदाः समिन्धे
देवश्चायं विवस्वान्मलिनतरघृणिर्दृश्यते लग्नकीलः।
आशाश्चेमा न भान्ति प्रचुरतररजोराजिसंछादिताङ्गा
धात्री पात्रीभवन्ती विदलयति मनो वेपथूनामियं नः ॥८॥

(कञ्चुकिनं प्रति) आर्ये विद्याधर इदं सर्वं गुरवे गौतमाय निवेद्य सत्वरं मदादेशं मह्यमुपनय ।

कञ्चुकी—तथा (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—देवि, अत्रोत्पातानां महती बाधेति प्रासादाभ्यन्तरमेव प्रविशामः ।

(इति निष्क्रान्ता : सर्वे)

जनक चरण चिन्तावाप्तविज्ञानलेशो
व्यधित यदतिहृद्यं सूरिरामावतारः ।
रसभरपरिपूर्णे नाटके तत्र षष्ठो-
व्यगलदनवशेषक्षीणपङ्कोऽयमङ्कः ॥९॥

इति षष्ठोऽङ्कः ।

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(No.1. Set.)

The Nirakarapur plates of Udayakhedi.

Pandit Sadasiva Ratha, Research Scholar, Utkal University, brought this set of plates to my notice in the month of June 1947. I deciphered the inscription with the help of the original plates. This set of copper plates was discovered, as I was told, from the village of Nirakarpur in the Puri District, situated on the B.N. Railway between Khurda road and Kaluparaghat. The plates are now preserved with Sri Ramkrishna Bhagat of Puri whose father acquired them from the owner.

The set consists of three Copper plates each measuring about 6.5″ X 3.25″ and they are hinged in a copper ring, which is shouldered in a circular seal bearing the figure of lyi ng bull at its centre, having a cresent moon on the top nd a half-blown-lotus at the bottom.

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The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the script is of the "North-Kalinga-type" *. The inscription, on the whole, is legible except in one or two places, where the plates are found damaged.

TEXT

1st Plate, 2nd Side

१। ओँ स्वस्ति । अमरपुरानुकारिण (:) सर्व्वर्त्तुसुख
२। रव (म) णीयाद्विजयवरकलिङ्गनगराधिवासकात्
३। महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराच–
४। रगुरो (:) सकलभुवननिर्म्माणैक स (श) शा (०) क
५। चूडामणे (मण) र्भगवन्त (तो) गोकर्ण्णस्वा–
६। मिनश्चरण (:) कमलयुगप्रणाम (मा) द्विगत कलि
७। कालकलङ्को (ऽ) नेकाह (व) संक्षोभि भज[1] जय शब्द प्र–
८। तापानि (न) त श (स) मस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिप्रभाम–

2nd Plate, 1st Side

९। ञ्जरि (री) पुञ्जरञ्जितवरचरणो निव्दभ[2] ध्धारा (रो) पार्ज्जित स–
१०। कलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यप्रविततसितकुमुदकुन्देन्द्रअ–
११। वदाता[3] वरविनिर्ग्गतयसो (शो) ध्वस्तारातिकुलाचलो
१२। नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यत्यागादिगु–
१३। ण शं (सं) प (ण) दाधारभूतो परममाहेश्वरो
१४। मातापितृपादानुध्य (ध्या) ता गङ्गामलकुलतिलक
१५। भूपेन्द्रवर्म्मसुतस्य श्री देवेन्द्रवर्म्म (।।) राय वण–
१६। राधि विनिर्ग्गतः कदम्व वंसो (शो) द्भवकुलतिलकमहा

2nd Plate ; 2nd Side

१७। रटजदेवपुत्रसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द * * * *
१८। नाधिपत्य धर्मखेडि सुतस्य उगखेडि (।) उग्रखेडि सुत
१९। श्री उदयाखेडि राज्यमिति (।।) नरेन्द्रवे (भो) ग पगडाखेडो ग्राम
२०। विशुक (व) सङ्क्रान्ति व्राराह (?) व्राह्मणं तां (ता) म्र (मू) शाश (स) नं
२१। दत्वा विष्णु भट (टे) ण क्षेनि[4] व (वृ) ति सोम भट (टे) ण एक वृ–
२२। ति (के) लु भट (टे) ण देढ[5] वृति जेठ भट (टे) ण देढ वृति रेचम भ–
२३। ट (टे) ण देढ वृति नन्दिकुरा भट (टे) ण देढ मधु भट (टे) ण एक
२४। वृति (पिङ्गल) भट (टे) ण पञ्च पाद गोगय अयन देढ वृ–

3rd Plate ; 1st Side

२५। ति दामय (भटेण) पञ्च वृति सोमया दिक्षित वृति भावि भ–

* As this type of script is mostly found in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, I am inclined to call it the "North-Kalingan-Character".

(1) Read संक्षोभ जनित
(2) Read निस्त्रिंश
(3) Read कुन्देन्द्रवदात
(4) Read either "द्वि" in Sanscrit or "दुई" in Oriya.
(5) "देढ" is a Pracrit Form (Probably Oriya) means one and a half.

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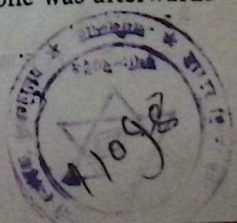
THE COMPANY'S SALT CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By
DR. HARI RANJAN GHOSAL.

One of the many problems that faced the Company's Government early in the last century was: "How to prevent the importation and illicit manufacture of salt within the provinces of Bengal and Bihar?" It may be noted that in 1772 the Company resolved that salt "in every part of the province" should be made by them and that the Khalaris[1] in each district "should be let in farm for five years."[2] The farmers were to deliver the article at a fixed price to the Government, which in its turn was to sell it to the Indian merchants "at another fixed price"[3]. In 1780 a new system was introduced, under which "all salt of the provinces was to be manufactured for the Company" under the superintendence of European agents.[4] The manufacture of salt was actually carried on by a class of people known as Molunghis generally under a system of contracts with the agents, and from 1787 onwards the article was disposed of by public auction periodically at the Company's salt godowns at Salkia.[5] As salt became a considerable source of reve-

1. *Khalari*, a salt manufactory.
2. Rickards, *India or Facts*, etc., Vol. ii, p. 639.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 639-40.
4. *Ibid*, p. 640. The following salt agencies were established in the province of Bengal: Hijli (Midnapore), Tumluk (Midnapore), 24-Parganas, Jessore, Chittagong, Bhulua (Noakhali) and Rai Mangal. The last one was afterwards amalgamated with the 24-Parganas.
5. Salkia, northern part of Howrah City.



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nue, the Government gradually passed a number of regulations intended to check its importation from outside and illicit manufacture by private persons within.

But the importation of western salt which was not always mala fide but sometimes due to the ignorance of the Company's regulations, and the temptation to illicit manufacture were by no means easy to check. The Company had therefore to wage a two-fold campaign against salt in the early years of the nineteenth century: first, against the manufacture of salt by private persons illegally in their houses, and secondly, against the importation of salt from outside and its sale within Bengal and Bihar. Among the unpublished records of the District Judge's court at Patna there are some interesting documents relating to the Company's salt compaign in Bihar. The present paper deals with these documents, extracts from some of which are given below.

NO. 1

Extracts from a letter from R. Vansittart, Collector of Government Customs, Patna, to R. Thackeray. Secretary, Board of Revenue, dated 26 october, 1811.

"Salaum[6], Saumba[7], and different other sorts of salt, the produce and manufacture of the Upper provinces and places more distant is imported like other goods for the purpose of traffic under cover of Rowannah[8] chiefly issued from the custom houses at Agra, Meerut and Benares; this source of Trade has only existed since the the late revision of the customs by Regulation of 1810 and no quantity of any great consequence has passed till lately; the Trade of it however has now become general and increasing daily very largely."

"As it appears by Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell's letter that all such sorts of salt imported into Bihar is (sic) liable to confiscation, ...I have given public notice at the Custom House that all further Importation will be liable to seizure."

6. *Salaum* or *Salumba* - a kind of salt produced in the upper rovinces.

7. *Sambhar* salt, that is, salt produced from the Sambhar lake in Rajputana.

8. A custom house pass.

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NO. 2

Extracts from a letter from R. Vansittart to E. W. Blunt, Collector of Customs, Agra, dated 9 January, 1812.

"A considrable quantity of Salumbah and Saumba salt having been imported into Patna contrary to the Regulations chiefly under cover of Rowannahs issued from the Custom House at Agra, I have been called upon by Government to report particulars and will therefore thank you to inform me with as little delay as possible whether any and what restrictions are supposed to exist in the issuing Rowannahs from your office for such description of salt and whether the distance to which it is allowed to be taken is limited to the Province of Benares on its course to the Eastward".

NO. 3

Extracts from E.W. Blunt's raply to R. Vansittart, dated 21 January, 1812.

"In reply to your letter of he 9th instant I have to acquaint you that.....no restrictions are supposed to exist in issuing Rowannahs from this office for such salt and that the distance to which it is allowed to be transported to the Eastward is considerded to be unlimited."

No, 4

Extracts from a letter from Collector of Customs, Patna, to H Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 20 March, 1812

"In consequence of receiving several representattons from the Custom Master at Benares forwarding to me Petitions from some of the owners of salt praying the release of it as having been imported into Bihar unconscious of its being in opposition to any order of Government, I addressed the Collector of Customs at Agra on the subject from whence the said Rowannahs were issued.....it would be particularly hard that the merchants should be now obliged to take the salt back as what they imported originated entirely thro. mistake not so much on their part as on the part of the Custom Master at Agra in issuing Rowannahs to convey the salt to an unlimited distance..... .....Under the cirumstances taking

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salt from Patna to Benares would hardly serve to defray the expense of boat hire..... in my humble opinion the Bengal salt merchants ought to feel perfectly grateful to the Government in having adopted precautionary measures against the future importation of such salt by establishing two chokies for that express purpose, one at Manjee [9], the other at the mouth of the Carramnassa at Chousah,"

But the establishment of the above *chokies* did not prove adequate for the purpose of checking the importatation, of western salt into Bihar, and late in 1814 the Government decided to send Mr, T, Plowden to Bihar for inquiring into the subject of salt import and suggesting necessary measures for its prevention, The following extract of a letter is worthy of note in this connetion,

No, 5

Extract of a letter from Acting Secretary, Public Department, to Board of Trade, dated 29 November, 1814,

"These papers seem clearly to establish that an illicit transportation of Salumbah and other salt is still carried on to a considerable extent from Benares into Behar; it becomes therefore highly important to take more effectual means than have hitherto been resorted to check this evil which may otherwise be the cause of a considerable defalcation in the salt sales and consequently in the public revenue derived from this Department,"

No, 6

Letter from W, B. Baley, Secretary, Judicial Department, to H, Douglas, dated 6 January, 1815. The writer desires the Magistrate to afford every assistance in his power to Mr, Plowden, Superintendent, Western Salt Chokies, "in the execution of the measures which he has been directed to adopt for the purpose of checking the illicit transportation of Salumba and other salt from Benares to Behar,"

No, 7

Letter from T, Plowden to H, Douglas, dated I February, 1815, The writer reports his arrival at Patna on the previous day and

9. A place at the confluenee of the Ganges and the Gogra, now called Manjha

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requests the Magistrate to afford his officers the co-operation and aid of the officers under the Magistrate's control in effecting the seizure of illicit *Salumbah* and other salt and of *Salumba* mixed with *Pungah*[10] salt, which is alleged to be lodged in different places in the district of Patna.

No, 8

Letter from the same to the same, dated 4 February, 1815. The writer informs the Magistrate "of a large quantity of illicit salt being lodged in a house at Monsoorgunge"[11] and requests his assistance "to effect the seizure of it."

No, 9

Letter from the same to the same, dated 8 February, 1815. The writer informs the Magistrate that Krishna Mohan Neogi, Mohurrar of the Salt Choky at Patna, has been put in confinement by the Magistrate's officers "in consequence of a complaint made against him by Bulaky Pykar for having attached some illicit Pungah mixed with Kharee salt", and points out that "under section II, Regulation IV of 1800, salt adulterated with Khari noon[12] is liable to seizure and confiscation."

No, 10

Letter from the same to the same, dated 19 October, 1815. The writer informs the Magistrate of some *Pungah* salt adulterated with *Khari noon* having been attached by two peons of the Bihar Salt Chokies in the shops of several persons named in the letter and requests a summary enquiry to be started into the circumstances of the case to be instituted as prescribed by Regulation IV of 1800 and Regulation XLVIII of 1803 "in order to recover the fine prescribed by section II of the first mentioned Reg."

10. *Pungah* or *Panga*-common salt manufactured from earth impregnated with salt water. Bengal coast salt was generally known by this name (Watt, *A Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, vol. vi, part ii pp. 395 & 401).

11. A locality in Patna city.

12. *Khari noon*--earthsalts generally so called and mostly manufactured in the Upper provinces, Central India and the Punjab (Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. VI part ii, pp, 401 & 405).

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The officers of the Magistrates sometimes abused the authority in seizing salt supposed to be adulterated or imported from the west. As it caused much harassment to the public, the Board of Customs. Salt and Opium suggested in a letter to the Government, dated April 11, 1820 that the [13] "Native officers of the Magistrates and Collectors.....should be prohibited.....from attaching salt supposed to be adulterated or to have been illegally imported into Behar in any case where they may not be specially authorised to do so by their immediate superiors". Accordingly in a letter to W.H. Tippett. Magistrate of Patna, dated 19 May, 1820, W.B. Baley, Chief Secretary to the Government, invited the Magistrate's attention to the purport of the Board's letter and informed him that the magistrates of Patna, Behar[13] Saran, Shahabad and Ghazipore were "invested with the special power of seizing the description of salt adverted to in section 49, Regulation 10, 1819[14] as well as common salt when found adulterated with Kharee noon or other impure salt within the limits of Behar Chokies."

It is not clear from the documents referred to above how far, if at all, the Company's measures to check the illicit production and importation of salt in Bihar was successful. It is striking, however, that there are only about a dozen papers relating to the subject among the early nineteenth century records of the District Judge's Court at Patna, where as the corresponding document relating to opium smuggling and illicit opium production are no fewer than four dozen in number. Does it mean that the offence against the Company's opium monopoly was much more rampant than the illegal practices against the regulations regarding their salt monopoly? Perhaps it does because opium offered

13. The district of Behar then included the present Gaya district and part of the Patna district.

14. Regulation X of 1819 was intended partly to check the illicit manufacture and the illicit importation of salt from outside and partly to prevent compulsion on the salt manufacturers and salt dealers by the officers of Government. See in this connection *Appendix to Report from Select Committee on Salt*, pp. 26-27.

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greater temptation to the smugglers and illicit producers than salt which was a much cheaper commodity. Moreover, as the documents reveal, the importation of salt from the westward was not always *mala fide*. Often it was due to ignorance of the Company's salt regulations on the part of the merchants and the officers of Government. These records, therefore, not only tell us about the extent of smuggling and about the measures adopted to check it, but indirectly throw some light on the character of the Company's administration at the time. The political, administrative and economic importance of such unpublished documents demands close and careful study of them.

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SHAH ALAM II'S AGONY AND APPEAL

(By DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA.*)

Shah Alam's is indeed a highly tragic career in the eighteenth century history of India. Perverse destiny drove him from one extremity to another till he was subjected to acute miseries in the metropolis of an Empire over which his ancestors had ruled but of which nothing save a shadow then lingered to his great mortification. He had even to bear patiently severe bodily tortures including blinding of his eye by the Ruhela Chief Ghulam Qadir, who also heaped indignities on the members of the imperial family, including women and children, from 18th July to 2nd October, 1788 (1)

In this period of dire calamity and unspeakable agonies the unfortunate Mughal Emperor sent appeals for help in different quarters, the most piteous one being to the Government of the English East India Company in Calcutta. Brief references to his appeals are found in Cornwallis Correspondence by Ross[2] and in Calendar of Persian Correspondence [3]. Recently I obtained from the collections of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, transcripts of records relating to Shah Alam II some of which contain significant details of his correspondence at that time, particularly with the English.

After Ghulam Qadir had entered Delhi on the 5th September, 1787, the Emperor thought it "expedient to humour him" by conferring on him the office of *Bakhsi-ul-Mamalik*. But this did not prevent the Afghan Chief from going against the Emperor, who was saved for some time by the assistance of Begam Samru and also turned to the English for help. He wrote the following letter to Colonel Gabriel Harper, then Resident at Lucknow [4]:

*Read at the last session of the Indian History, Congress.

(1) For further details vide Sir J. N. Sarkar's '*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, Pp. 430-442.

(2) Vol. I (Second Edition, 1859), P. 307 and P. 364.

(3) Vol. VIII.

(4) Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787 No 50. Harper received this letter on 29th September, 1787.

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"Golaum Ally Khan who is stationed from the Royal presence is sent to you agreeable to our desire-As you consider the performance of the duties of zeal and attachment to the Royal presence Superior to other considerations we write that you on understanding our commands, apply yourself immediately to the arrangement of the affairs of the Sultanut—It is necessary on receipt of this Shukka that you set out for the presence ; in the event of any delay send Chief with troops & Battalions—Formerly Battalions were stationed with us ; you will know what further are the desires of our Royal mind from Golaum Ally Cawn—You will introduce him in a proper manner to the Governor."

A similar letter was then addressed by him to the Governor General. He wrote a letter also to Nawab Asafuddaulah[5] to the following effect :—

"Repeated letters have been addressed to you my Son, & to the English but until this time no answers have been received—Delays & neglects in such situations are highly objectionable—You must have learned from the Newspapers the Commotions which have arisen from all quarters within this Month past-At this what wounds does not our mind feel ? How can your friendship sincerity & zeal bear that we should pass our days in such troubles? This is not a time for delay. It is necessary to use every haste and expedition possible Rebellion admits of no remedy but hearty inclination. The force and exertions of the Enemies of our Throne & the destruction of the foundation of the religion of Mahomed are attended with no advantages. If this sect fixes itself in the neighbourhood of your Dominions it will be difficult to remove it & it can be now easily effected. The stream should be stopped at its source, you must consult on every affair with the English & speedily settle matters in a firm manner, districts will be allotted like yours, send the deserts & wishes speedily to the presence, until you arrive yourself that they may

(5) Sec. Cons. 24th October. 1787, No. 34. Asafuddaulah received this letter on the 30th September, 1787.

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receive our Royal approbation; but until you arrive send to me battalions by the way of Daranaghur [6]".

The Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, while touring in north India received the following letter from Shah Alam [7] on the 4th October, 1787:

"You will have learnt the particulars of the affairs of the Royal Presence from the Shukkas which have before written you on these subjects-at this time matters are thus-The Rebel throwing off the veil in the fullness of his wickedness is meditating the ruin of the city the overthrow of the throne and the annihilation of the Sultanut-nor does he in the least desist from his Rebellion-Immediately on understanding his desires we applied ourselves to oppose him with all our strength and war will soon commence. As we are perfectly satisfied and pleased with the serviees of the English Chiefs who have always shown their duty towards us, and these Chiefs swore to us that whenever in times of necessity we might send for them they would never be neglectful in obedience to our orders. Now as this rebel is prepared without any cloak or deception to ruin the city and to overthrow the Sultanut we write to you that no time can be better to assist the presence them (? than) the present. It is necessary immediately on receiving this Shukka in consequence of the oath sworn to us that admitting not of the delay of a moment you repair to the presence and assist in repelling this rebel for the shortness of the opportunity admits of no delay notwithstanding that a great deal may be written on this subject judge it but as very little.

(In the King's own hand in pencil)—

And send a strong force the river from Daranagurh into the country of Colaum Kader Cawn to raise disturbances there that he may quit this place."

In another letter [8] received by the Governor General on the same day, Shah Alam stated:

(6) Daranagar, a small town on the left bank of the Ganges in Bijnor district. A detachment of British subsidiary force for the service of the Nawab Wazir was stationed there.

(7) Sec. Cons 24th October, 1787, No. 42.

(8) Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787, No. 43.

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"We have learned by the Newspapers that you are intending to send troops towards Akhherabad, my son (?) the affairs of the Royal présence are as follows-The rebel of shallow reflection erroneously from the badness of his disposition and temper is meditating the destruction of the city and the overthrow of throne and it is evident that he will not in the least little desist. We are opposing him to the utmost of our power. It is necessary for you immediately on receipt of the Royal Shukka to issue positive orders to the Battalions stationed on the Banks of the Ganges at Daranagurh to cross the river into the country of this rebel and create commotions in it that he may desist from his evil conduct and being reduced to distress return to that quarter, and you having the situation of the presence and the disturbances occasioned by this proud rebel in view should come without any delay to the presence. Do not make any procrastination. The full particulars of these matters have been before written to you—(In the King's own hand in pencil).

Other particulars will be related by Gholam Ally Khan."

In anothet correspondence [9] of Shah Alam to the Governor General received by the latter on the 8th October, 1787, we read as foliows:

"You have written that the Company seeing their honur in the duties of obedience have raised their Names by it, and wishing for peace with all mankind have maintained it with all Nations,-we are fully convinced of the obedience of all the Chiefs of the Company—You also write that the Company have entered into friendship with the whole world—God be praised, nothing can be better than this among mankind—There is no difference between the King o England and us. The servants of this throne are the wellwishers of that. In light we consider all the chiefs of the English Nation without exception as our wellwishers.

My son (?) formerly when Major Brown, and after him, Mr. [Anderson attended the Royal pressnce the King of England gave positive orders to the Company that

(9) Sec. Cons. 24th October, 1787, No. 36.

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whoever should deviate from the paths of obedience and service to us should be severely punished, and an arzee to this purpott was written us by the Company. It is well-known that the Company are strict in adherence to their treaties and engagements—Formerly a treaty was entered into between us and the Company, that the enemies of this throne were the enemies of that and the wellwishers & friends of this Court were the real wellwishers of that and that the observance of this engagement shall be evinced on both sides in future.

At present Golaum Kader Cawn came to the Royal presence from his own authority and was honored with Royal favour, and notwithstanding the Royal kindness bestowed on him, his evil mind leading him across the river he was guilty of disturbance and improper acts contrary to the duties of allegiance and obedience, & former schemes of rebellion wishing that the whole of the Royal affairs thould be stopped for his advice and counsels, and entertained this idea in his mind. This did not meet our approbation and we are engaged and prepared in opposing him with such troops as are attending our Royal person.

In this case we write to you, that as an observance of the former engagements considering his punishment and chastisement as incumbent above all other deeds you write positive orders to the troops stationed on the Banks of the Ganges at Daranaghur to crose the River & commence hostilities in the countries and districts appertaining to this Rebel that he being under the influence of fear and apprehension may return to that quarter. As we consider you the strength of our Throne and the English chiefs have at all times and on all occasions shewn their obedience and service, we have no doubts that you will receive the Royal approbation by enforcing our orders.

With rrspect to the appearance of you and my son the Vizier at the Royal presence we have written repeatedly to you-our desire to see you and the Vizier exceeds all description and we were anxious that you should both come under this plea—we shall be happy and pleased at seeing you and the Vizier.

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As we are convinced of and are waiting for a proper arrangement of the affairs of the Sultanut from the Vizier it is necessary that he should repair to the Royal presence during such times as these, and execute the affairs of the Sultanut."

In reply the Governor General stated [10] on the 10th October, 1787:

"I have been honored with the Royal Shukka repeating your Majesty's Commands to attend the presence.

Your MaJesty's representation both to the Vizier and to myself of the present commotions that surround the throne and of your Royal distresses have made the deepest impression on my mind; But your Majesty will be sensible that in my public situation I am not at liberty to set from my private feelings.

It would be unworthy of my own personal character and of the character of the English Nation to hold forth hopes to your Majesty or to make promises which I know that I could not perform.

A regard for the truth renders it therefore necessary for me to declare that whilst the princes and states of India abstain from offering injury or insult to the Dominions and subjects of the Company; or to those of our allies, the Laws of my country and the particular orders of the Company and of my own native sovereign positively forbid me to engage in any hostilities whatever.

The Vizier is closely connected with us in the strictest bonds of alliance and friendship and I know that he is determined to maintain the same pacific line of conduct.

Under these circumstances altho' it gives me pain to be witness to the evils that have been represented I have no power to apply any remedy to them. But I will with great sincerity assure your Majesty that it would give me the highest satisfaction to hear that your Royal mind was restored to comfort and happiness."

(10) Sec. Cons., 24th October, 1787, No. 37.

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The Governor General communicated to John Shore on the same date :-

"I have received several melancholy Shukkas from the King (Shah Alam) calling on me in the most pressing terms for assistance and support. This morning I wrote a letter perfectly civil and respectful but without all that jargon of allegiance and obedience, in which I stated most explicitly the impossibility of our interference" [11].

But in his utter distress the Mughal Emperor continued to appeal to the Calcutta Government. He again wrote [12] to Lord Cornwallis in March, 1788:

"At the time we resided at Illahabad, such services as were performed by the Nawaub Vizeer and the English surpass discription and are well known after that period when we came to Delhi we nominated Zoalficar-un-Dowlah deceased with Troops and artillery in order to take Agra and to punish the Jaats. By the help of God and the fortune of Majesty what was our wish was perfectly accomplished and Zoalficar-ul Dowla performed the duties of respect for 12 years and the Royal affairs were managed according to the desire of the wellwishers of the Throne after his Death in consequence of Contentions and disagreements between the Persons of Shallow Reflection brought forward by the Deceased Disputes arose, Scindia paid his Respects to us and was treated with the Royal favor in the Environs of Agra notwithstanding that in several matters such as giving us possession of half the Topekhana (Artillery)of Zoalficar-ue Dowla and the capture of Agra which is the footstool of our Throne, he acted adverse to Engagements, still he was not neglectful in supplying the Disbursements of the Presence knowing we were well inclined towards him from his services he turned his Thoughts towards Jypoor The Rajah Pertaub Singh agreeable to the Royal orders made himself, answerable for the amount he used to pay thro' Zoalficar ul-Dowla, Scindia not satisfied with this wished to take possession of the

(11) Ross, Corwallis Correspondence, Vol. I, P. 307,

(12) Foreign Sect. and Pol. Progs, the 24th March, 1788. The Governor General received this letter on the 17th March, 1788.

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Country and Raja Pertaub Sing in spite of our Royal prohibition that the Rajah was a servant of the presence from the time of his ancestors and we had bestowed the Teeka (Thika) of Rajah upon him, that this conduct was not proper what was to happen, came to pass. At that time from the Defeat of Scindias'. Troops, Golaum Kader Khan in Conjunction with a few Troops of Seiks shewed his Disloyalty notwithstanding that we wrote strongly to Scindia, who was then in the neighbourhood of Alwar to come to the presence and punish Golaum Khan, he did not comply, nor did he pay the money that was settled for the Royal Expences after this, the scattered army assembled to repel Golaum Kader Khan, and his repulsion was effected Scindia in the intention of coming to the presence, arrived at Rewary and dispatched Apajee to us notwithstanding his dilatoriness in coming to the presence it was our intention that he should arrive and in conjunction with the Royal army engage in the punishment of Golaum Kader Khan. At this time, the prince came to Agra and joining with Ismail Beg Khan sent Rajah Himmut Behadre to summon the Rajahs from the situation of the times we informed Scindia verbally thro' Apajee Row that until the arrival of the prince he should remain in that country afterwards he might act as he pleased as his Troops could not maintain their Ground, they were compelled to go towards Agra, and being defeated by Ismail Beg, they crossed the Chumbul you are acquainted with the present situation of affairs and every day brings you accounts of the situations of the Chiefs of the Royal presence who entertain improper ideas notwithstanding a knowledge of these particulars, you, who are the support of the Throne, consider and learn these events and circumstances from afar and do nothing to Remedy them, this is astonishing. As it is our sincere wish that the arrangement and settlement of the grand affairs of the Country should be accomplished thro' the advice of your prudence and that of our son the Vizeer and be rendered flourishing, we therefore write, that you communicate to us what appears to you advisable and proper in every matter, that it may meet with the Royal approbation. Out of Regard to respect it is avisable, that you send one of your confidents accompanied by one from the Vizeer to the presence, that he may learn the secrets

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from you with 4 or 5 Battalions and 30 or 40 pieces of Cannon and another from the Vizeer in the manner of Litafut Ally Khan with 4 or 5 Battalions and Cavalry may remain at the presence to strengthen the Sultanut and punish the rebels if any obstacle occurs, inform us thereof, that we may dispatch one of our own confidents to Lucknow to communicate our desires. In this case you will write to the Vizeer, Mr. Ives and Major Palmer to act according to our inclination, and yours and the Vizeer's prudence and foresight, and to arrange the Royal affairs in such manner as shall publish to the world yours and the Vizeer's Alligiance and Fidelity."

Lord Cornwallis observed in his reply, dated 21st March, 1788:—

"It affords me the highest satisfaction to perceive the reliance your Majesty is pleased to place on the Company during the times of disobedience in the Royal servants. But at the same time I feel great unhappiness that your Majesty should conceive that I am not aware of the contentions that at present surround the Throne but remain a spectator of them at a distance. When in the neighbourhood of Furruckabad I did myself the honour of replying to your Majesty Shukkas's on this subject and represent the afflic tion which I experienced on the present state of affairs stating fully the situation in which as under the immediate direction and control of another Power to whom I am answerable for my administration of the Company's concerns I was totally secluded from any interference in the present unhappy disputes a further declaration of such a situation is unnecessary because I am convinced that your Majesty's knowledge of the World will induce your Royal mind to understand thoroughly what I have before represented and I am sensible that your Majesty's justice will concede in the propriety of my present conduct and in the justness of my former representations trusting that your Majesty will honour me by considering me one of yours Majesty's faithful wellwishers will favour me with frequent Shukkas."

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What exactly Lord Cornwallis had in his mind is clear from the following contents of his letter to Major Palmer, dated Calcutta 16th August, 1788:

"I do not think that, under our present orders from the Court of Directors, and the existing Acts of parliament, we should be justified by the late violent proceedings of Golaum Kadir Khan in interfering in the disturbances of the Upper provinces nor do I see that we are called upon to do it, either by motives of honour or interest, or even of humanity.

The unforunate Shah has been long since in fact deposed; without however, money, or troops, he has been a wretched pageant in the hands of the prince or State which happened at the time to be the most powerful of his neighbours. If we should now free him from Golaum Kadir Khan, unless we could give him an army and a permanent fund for the payment of it, he would immediately again become the slave and perhaps the prisoner of some other tyrant" (13).

(13) Ross, of cit. Vol. I, P. 364.

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BEARING OF NUMISMATICS ON THE HISTORY OF THE LATER IMPERIAL GUPTAS

By Dr. B. P. SINHA.

The Gupta age is accepted on all hands as the Classical Age of ancient Indian Civilisation. The dynastic history of the period and its fairly accurate chronology have been settled to a great extent by the great indologists like J. F. Fleet and V. A. Smith. The order of Succession form Chandra Gupta I to Kumara Gupta I is generally accepted by scholars. But the dynastic history after the death of Kumara Gupta I is a matter of controversy. Formerly it was believed that Kumara Gupta was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, and with his death the Gupta empire perished.[1] The discovery of Bhitari seal[2] brought out three more generations of the imperial Guptas. From this record we learn that Kumara gupta was followed by Puru[3] Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, and Kumara Gupta, who was taken to be Kumara Gupta II. From the Bhitari Pillar-inscription of Skanda Gupta[4] it appears that Skanda Gupta succeded his father Kumara Gupta. Scholars have been at a loss to reconcile the testimony of the Bhitari pillar-inscription and the Bhitari seal. Some[5] held that Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are identical. Some surmised a division of the empire between the two brothers[6]. Most of the scholars have occepted the lead of Panna lal[7] that Kumara Gupta was succeded by Skanda Gupta who died childless and was followed by his younger brother Puru Gupta and his line. An inscription belonging to the time when Kumara Gupta was ruling the earth has been found at Sarnath[8] and is

[A paper read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in July 1948]

(1) Smith. V. A. Faly History of India, (4th) edition, P 329.
(2) Journal of Asiatic society of Bengal. Vol LVIII P 88 f.
(3) The name on the plate is certaraly, Purú not Pura as read by Hoernle.
(4) Fleets Inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty, No. 13 p 55.
(5) JR AS. 19o9 part I. pp. 128f. E. I. XXVI. part V. pp 235f.
(6) Basak-History of North-Eastern India, P 70.
(7) Hinusthan Review, January 1918 1 f.
(8) ASIAR. 1914-15, P 123.

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dated in year 154 (=473—74 A. D.). This Kumara Gupta has been identified with Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal. The last known date of Skanda Gupta is 467-68 A. D.[1], while the earliest kownn date of Budha Gupta is 476 A. D. Therfore scholars have put the regnal periods of Puru Gupta, his son Narasimha Gupta and grandson Kumara gupta II within 467-468—476 A. D.

In our humble opinion none of these theories explains the situation. It is impossible to identify Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta when we find coins and inscriptions issued in these names. The attempt to read 'Budha' on the coin of Hoey's collection. which is now in the British Museum, is palpably wrong. The legend on the coin is never Budha, at best it can be 'Bura' because of the closed top of the 'pu'. But 'pu' with closed top is found on the Nalanda seal of Visnu Gupta. The second letter on the coin is certainly 'ra' neverdha'. Therefore Allan's reading of Pura on it shouid be accepted, From the Arya-manju-Sri-Mula kalpa we know that Skana Gupta had many names including that of Devaraja. Had his another name been Puru Gupta which we find on coins and inscriptions it must have been mentioned in the MMK which refers to his another name Devaraja.

The theory of the division of the empire after the death of Kumara Gupta I is also untenable. From the find spots of the inscriptions of Skanda Gupta it is clear that he presided over the whole empire and there is no reason to imagine that he would willingly allow an other line of rulers to rule the vitally important eastern provinces of the empire, especially when the rise of that family was a result of rebellion. Moreover the thesis that the empire was divided between two families, one consisting of Skanda Gupta. Kumara Gupta II (Sarnath inscription) and Budha Gupta ; the other of Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and Kumara Gupta, III) of the Bhitari seal) is mortally assailed by the discovery of the Nalanda seal of Budha Gupta which makes him a son of Puru Gupta. The inscriptions of Budha Gupta are so spread that it is clear that he ruled over the entire empire and not only a part of it.

(1) JRAS. 1889. p. 134.

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The theory that is holdind the field to-daythat Skanda Gupta was succeeded by Puru Gupta and his line and then Budha Gupta followed in 476 A. D. is also not convincing The Nalanda seal of Visnu Gupta brings out another generation of the dynasty and we come to know that Kumara gupta , son of Narasimha Gupta was succeeded by Visnu gupta. Therefore we have to put Puru Gupta and his great-grand son Visnu Gupta on the imperial throne within an interval of eight years. It is physically impossible, even if we concede long life to Puru Gupta and his son. Then Budha Gupta is a son of Puru Gupta and it is not na ural to make him succeed to the throne after his grand-nephew Visnu Gupta, and then to rule for about twentv years.

The fundamental error has been to identify Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscription with he of the Bhitari seal. One of the grounds for this conclusion is that numismatic evidence knows only of one Kumara Gupta after Kumara Gupta I in the imperial Gupta dynasty. Allan in his catalogue attributes numerous coins to Kumara Gupta II of the Bhitari seal. He distinguishss between two distinct types of these coins and places them in class I and class II. In Class I there are only two coins. These two classes of the coins differ from one another in important pariculars. Class I are lighter in weighi, finer in metal and finis. Allan thought that thongh issued by the same person they were circulated in different districts of the empire. But we are sure that they are issues of two different rulers within an interval of about fourty years. Mr. J. Allan of the British Musenm very kindly sent some of the coins for chemical analysis. The result was very revealing Coin No. 571 of the British Museum Catalogue, which belongs to class I has 79% of gold while the coin No 576, belonging to class II has only 54% of gold in it. It is hardly possible to explain this great difference in the purity of the two classes of the coins by believing that they were issues of the same ruler but were circulated in two different districts. Why should the same king issue such good and bad coins in different parts of the empire ? The only logical conclusion is that they were issued by two different rulers There are other no less distinguishing features which confirm our

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suggestion. On the coins of Prakasaditya, Kumara Gupta III (Class II) Narasimha Gupta, Visnu Gupta we have the use of a single letter 'U', 'Ru', 'Ja', 'Go', 'Gre', 'Bha' etc. but such a practice is conspicuous by its absence on the coins of Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta, Kumara Gupta I, Skanda Gupta, Puru Gupta and on the coins of Kumara Gupta II (Class I). The conclusion is irresistible that this practice began after Kumara Gupta who issued the Class I coins. So far no gold coins of Budha Gupta with his name have been found. Budha Gupta was an imperial ruler as his inscriptions have been found at Sar nath, Eran, and Damodarpur (Bengal). From his Nalanda seal we find that he was the son of Puru Gupta. He must have issued gold coins and the coins of Prakasaditya should be attributed to him. The comparatively good purity of these coins suggests a prosperous reign and his reign was certainly so. He began the practice of stamping a single letter (u or ru) on the obverse of the coins below the feet of the king's image or the horse's. This practice was faithfully adhered to by his successors. Therefore the coins of Kumara Gupta belonging to Class I should be attributed to a ruler who followed Skanda Gupta and preceded Budha Gupta while the Coins belonging to class II and having the letter 'Ja' or 'Go' between the feet of the king on the obverse should be credited to another Kumara Gupta who came after Budha Gupta. Another important point should be noted. The character 'Ku' on the coins of Class I is very different in palaeography from that on the coins of class II. The 'Ku' on class I is earlier in form while that on class II is a much developed character. This vital difference in the formation of the character must be accounted by a considerable difference in time. All these numismatic considerations clearly prove that the two classes of coins which were so long attributed to the same Kumara Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta and who was identified with Kumara Gupta of the Saranath inscription, should be credited to two different kings having the same name and having lived within an interval of time neccessary for the development of the character 'Ku' and the deterioration in the workmanship and the purity of the coinage. Thus we find

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that coins do know of two Kumara Guptas besides Kumara Gupta I., and Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscription dated 473-4 A. D. issued the Class I coins while Kumara Gupta III, son of Narasimha Gupta issued the debased and ruder coins placed in Class II by Allan. Therefore there is no necessity to believe in the passing away of four generations of rule within a short period of eight years.

Another point is, who succeded Kumara Gupta I immediately after his death ?. It has been generally held that he was succeded by Skanda Gupta, who was followed by Puru Gupta. In our humble opinion the fact was just the reverse. In all the inscriptions of his succesors Puru Gupta is referred to as 'Padanudhyata' in relation to Kumara Gupta I. Skanda Gupta who is referred to as the son of Kumara Gupta in the Bhitari Pillar inscription and while in the same inscription Kumara Gupta is refered to as 'Padanudhyata in relation to Candra Gupta I, the phrase is not used to describe the relationship of Skanda to Kumara Gupta. In our opinion the term 'Padanudhyata' has a constitutional sense and it suggests a lawful or legitimate succession of the son to the father. It is true that Fleet read 'Skanda Gupta' after Kumara Gupta in the Bihar stone-pillar inscription'. The facsimile of the inscription is very damaged in Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions.' But the letter which he reads as 'nda' is more like 'ru'. In an earlier facsimili of the same inscription given by R. Mitra the legend 'Puru' is very clear. What Fleet read as Skandaguptabata may be really, Candraguptabata as the second letter which is partly extant in the plate is certainly 'ndra', not 'nda'....Thus we find that Skanda Gupta is never referred to as 'Padanudhyata' in relation to Kumara Gupta I. Another important point is that the name of the mother of Puru Gupta is always given in the inscriptions but the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta is omitted in all the inscriptions. It is highly significant that the Bhitari Pillar-inscription of Skanda Gupta mentions the names of the mothers of Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I but omits to mention the

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar was first to draw our attention to this fact.

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name of the mother of Skanda Gupta, who is the issuer of the inscription. In the Junagarh inscription of Skanda Gupta it is stated that the goddess Laksmi chose Skanda after discarding other rivals. So it should be accepted that Skanda Gupta had no legal right to the throne, as his mother's name is not mentioned in the inscriptions and he is not referred to as 'padanudhyata' in relation to Kumara Gupta I. It appears that the mother of Skanda was not a 'Mahadevi' and the sons of Mahadevis were only legitmate claimants to the throne. So the only conclusion is that Skanda Gupta obtained the throne as a result of a 'coup-d'etat'. Puru Gupta succeeded his father Kumara gupta I at a critical time. The Hunas were overrunning the country and Skanda was sent to deal with them. He had also to fight the Pusyamitras. Before he came back his father was dead and Puru Gupta was on the throne. Puru Gupta was not an able king and the Huna menace was still there. Skanda was not ready to take the situation calmly. Other princes of the royal family also took advantage of the situation. One of them was Ghatotcaca Gupta whose seal has been found at Basarh and whose inscription has been discovered at Tumain. He appears to have been trained in the art of administration under Govinda Gupta in the time of Candra Gupta II and in the t me of Kumara Gupta I he was employed as governor of the province of Airikina (Eran). He may have been a son or younger brother of Kumara Gupta I. After the death of Kumara Gupta and the succession of the weak king Puru Gupta, Ghatotcaca also defied him and issued coins. One coin of Ghatotcaca with the title Kramaditya has been noticed by Allan. The coin must belong to Ghatotcaca of the seal and the inscription. Another aspirant of the throne may have been Candra Gupta III whose coins are known. Thus we find that Puru Gupta who was a patron of Vasubandhu and had assumed the titl of Vikramaditya had to face the opposition of his relatives and also the menace of the Hunas. He proved unequal to the task. The success of Skanda against the Pusyamitras and the Hunas had made him the man of the hour and therefore supported by the peopole and the court he usurped the throne. It is possible that this coup d'etat may not have resulted in any great shedding of blood. The lesser

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lumunaries may have lost their lustre at the approach of the luminous sun-Skanda Gupta.

The numismatic evidence does not contradict the point urged above. Skanda Gupta issued coins on two distinct standards of weight, Suvarna Standard of 146 grains and the lighter standard used by Kumara Gupta. The Coins of Puru Gupta are on heavier standard. Therefore it is held that the Coins of Puru Gupta are later in time from the coins of Skanda Gupta. It was also believed that the heavier weight coins of Skanda Gupta were in metal and should have been issued during his later years when the Huna menace reappeared. The whole theory was based on the chemical analysis of the coins made by Cunningham. On my request Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum sent some of the coins of Skanda Gupta for chemical analysis and the report shows that Cunningham's averages were certainly wrong. Eight coins of Skanda Gupta belonging to both heavier and lighter standards were sent in for examination and it was found out that the heavier coins were not debasedat all in comparision to the lighter ones. As a matter of fact there is no basis to postulate another Huna inavasion during the last years of Skanda Gupta when we are informed in the inscription that they were totally defeated and their pride was broken to the very root. His inscriptions spread throught his reign speak of his increasing prosperity.

What actually must have happened was that Puru Gupta after coming to the throne revived the old natianal Suvarna standard weight of the coins. His coins also are not debased. Their purity varies from 77% to 70%. Puru Gupta could have effectively controlled only the central provinces of the empire, where the tradition of suvarna standard was strong, the western provinces were lost to Ghatotcaca, Hunas and Skanda. When Skanda Gupta came to the throne he continued to use the heavier standatd coins because once introduced they could not be withdrawn. But he also continued to circulate coins. having the same standard as used by his ancestors, especialy Kumara Gupta. After the death of Skanda Gupta the national standard continued to hold the field.

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Skanda Gupta was succeed by Kumara Gupta If in cir. 470 A. D., the last known date of Skanda Gupta being 467-68 A. D., The relationship existing between Skanda and Kumara is not known, but the latter may have been son of Skanda Gupta. issued coins which Allan has classified as belonging to elass I of Kumara Cupta *II*. These coins contain a very high degree of purity, 79 p.c. and in design and facric closely follow the coins of Skanda Gupta. Kumara Gupta was Succeded by Dudha Gupta in about 475-76 A. A. Thus the linc of Puru Gupta was resored. We do not know the exact manner in which this change of line occurred: it is possible that as usual it may have followed some famils trouble Budha Gupta issued silver and gold coins; of Prakasditya must have been issued by him.

Budha Gupta was followed by his brother Warasimha Gupta who assumed the title of Baladitya, who fought Mihiraknla. The accession of Baladitya to the throne must have happed after 49495 A. D. the last known date of Budha Gupta. The coins of Narasimha Gupta are divided into two classes. One elass has coins of better fabric and purer metal while the second class is defihitely of baser metal. The chimical analysis of two coins. One belonging to each class revealed that while class *I* has about 7 p.c. of gold the class *III* has only 54 of gold in it. this great difference has to be explained. Narasimha Gupta when came to the thtone, could issue coins of good metal. But soon his kiugdom was invaded by the Huna leaders Toramana and Mihirakula. He appears to have been defected by Toramaha, who helped Vainya Gupta to occupy the throne of Magadha. Vainya Gupta issued coins with the title of Dvadasaditya. The coins which Ailan attributed to Candra Gupta *III*. should be correctly assigned to Vainya Gupta. His seal with imperial titles has been found at Nalanda. His inscription has been found in Gunajigarh in East Bengal. His coins are of good metal having the purity of 73 p. c. Narasimha Gupta was in wilderness and so he issued the baser coins belonging to Class *II* in Allan's Catalogue. soon Narasimha Gupta patched up peace with Mihirakula and degreed to pay tribute to the Runa ruler. The Gupta emperor was only playing

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for time and must have been concenrrating on armed forces in order to avange his defeat at the hands of the Hunas. Naturally therefore he could not issue good-metal coins and so his coins of Class *II* belonging to the later and troubled years of his reign are baser in metal and ruder in design and finis. However ultimately Narasimha Gupta defeated Mihirakula and at the instance of his mother pardoned him. Mihirakula went to the north, in Kasmira and was finally defeated by Yasodharman-Uisnuvardhana. Narasimha Gupta Baladitya abdicated the throne and was Succeded by his son Kumara Gupta *III* who issued Nalanda and Bhitari asals and the base Ku coins which have a purity of about 54 p.c. It was Kumara Gupta who must have suffered at the hands of Yasodharman. He may have lost his life in about 530 A. D. and was Succeded by his non Visnu Gupta who issued Nalanda seal with imperial titles and coins with the aditya title 'Candraditya'. His coins have a purity of about 43 p. c. A iairly large number of his coins have been found. He was the last Gupta emperor and saw the dissolution of the empire. The ears while feudatories, the Maukharis, the later Guptas, the Vardhanas and the Maitrakas become independent and ultimately the G upta Empire perished with the death of Visnu Gupta in about 550-51 A. D.,

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REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The French in India, First Establishment and Struggle. By S. P. Sen, B. A. (London), University of Calcutta.

The work contains a fairly exhaustive account of the little known history of the French in India in the earliest period of their activity in the country. The period from the first establishment of the "Campagnie Der Indes Orientales" in 1664 to the capture of the fort of Valdavour in 1674 has been elaborately discussed. The earliest French enterprises in the East also finds a brief mention in the book. The French enterprises on the Malabar and Coromandal Coasts (including the Northern Sirkars), as also in Ceylon, have been described in details. The author has utilised for his purpose some valuable unpublished sources in French, preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies in Paris, as well as in the India office Library, London. He deserves credit for throwing light on a rather obseure period of French history in India. He has told his story well and has explained at length the failures and successes of the French during the period under review. The getup, binding and printing are good and the language of the book is quite readable.

K. K. Datta.

Indian Constitutional Documents. Vol. II, 1858-1917. Edited by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R.S., Ph. D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. A. Mukherjee, & Co., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10/- only.

Dr, Banerjee's volumes on constitutional documents are substantial contribution to the stady constitutional developments in modern India. The work under review is the revised and the much enlarged second edition of

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a very comprehensive and valuable work published two years ago. It is indispensable for the study of constitutional progress in British India during the period 1858-1917. It contains many documents not included in the selections compiled by P. Mukerjee and Keith many years ago. Dr. Banerjee has selected his extracts not only from State Papers and Official documents but also from private letters and diaries which frequently throw fresh light on important constitutional issues. There are documents bearing not only on constitutional developments but also on the evolution of administrative institutions. There are also very interesting documents relating to the Indian States which reveal Paramountcy at work. The 'Introduction' and 'Notes' are scholarly and useful. Dr. Banerjee deserves our congratulations on giving us such a comprehensive source-book.

K. K. Datta.

The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar, 1740-1825 A. D.

By

Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Published by the University of Patna, 1948.

The history of the eighteenth and eagrly nineteenth century India is largely the history of the political and commercial activities of the different western powers in this country. India offered a tempting field to the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French, the Danish and the American Nations. The Portuguese power had exhausted itself already before the eighteenth century, laying the field open for the Dutch, the English and the French. In this book on the Dutch power in North-Eastern India during 1740-1825, the author has brought to light many interesting details regarding the trading activities, the political transactions, of the Dutch with the Nawabs of Bengal and the other European nations in India, and the wars and treaties of "His Netherlands Majesty" eventually leading to the cession of the Dutch possessions in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English in 1824-25. The action and inter-action of the different political

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forces including the European wars have been carefully discussed in so far as they affected the destiny of the Dutch nation in the country. The first chapter gives a short history also of the Dutch settlements and their early relationships. Each chapter adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject, and what is more striking, from start to finish the book reads like an absorbing tale. The author has even referred to Dutch factories in the interior of Bengal, such as Kagram, Mowgram and Kalikapur and has used a big bundle of manuscript records for his purpose. There is a valuable series of appendices at the end of the book, which will be particularly helpful to investigators in the field of modern Indian research. The size of the book is not so attractive.

H. R. Ghosal.

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GODS OF HARAPPA.

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MORE GODS OF HARAPPA

By

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

I. INTRODCTION

The soul of the ancient culture unearthed at Harappa and Mohanjodaro stood unveiled when it was shown that a few of the relics of that civilization pointed to the prevalence, and the prominence, in it of the practice of Yoga[1]. This discovery, having served as a clue to the interpretation of a few of the seals found among those antiquities, one of the gods pictured in them was unimpeachably identified as Pasupati of Vedic culture[2]. A very probable suggestion also emerged that a stone statuette discovered as a relic may be an image of a polycephalic god who, in a leter age, came to be monocephalic and bore the name Nataraja[3]. Another suggestion that is quite probable is that one of the signs occurring in the pictographic writing employed in the remains of this culture looks a picture of a human being who is endowed with four arms and, so, indicates the high antiquity of 'Brahmanical' iconography, in which such representations are common.[4]

That Pasupati and Nataraja and, perhaps, a four-armed deity had a place in the culture was a revelation so contrary to accepted notions that, notwithstanding that almost two decades have passed

1. R. P. Chand, *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (*Archaeol. Survey India, Memoir* 41, 1929), 25-34
2. J. Marshall, ed., *Mohenio-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (1931) 52-6. On the possibility of a distinction being then known between a preceptor thought of as god and a god playing preceptor, see my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942), being *New Indian Antiquary* (1941) 4: 325, fn. 92.
3. Marshall, 46: 11.
4. Chanda, in *Modern Review* 1932 Aug., 158-9, referring to Sign No. 383 in Marshall,——:129. See my *Survivals* 2, fn. 9, being *N. I. Antiquary* (1941), 254, fn. 9

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since, there has been a marked disinclination to notice even features in the finds which appear to establish that these gods were not strange or isolated or freakish personalities in this culture. Nor has there been the least endeavour to work out fully the significance of these gods in this culture or the implications of their presence in it. For instance, the identification of Pasupati with Siva was grafted on the assumption that Siva is a Dravidian god, without weight being given to Pasupati being a Vedic god, but no notice has been taken of Siva as Pasupati having a counterpart in Vishnu as Gopati and of Vishnu being a god for whom a Dravidian origin has not been claimed.[5] But, more important, from a different point of view, is that while the Pasupati of this culture was recognised as having affiliations with the Mahesa, the Dakshinamurti, the Vrishabha-Vahana and the Lakulisa of later times, it was not realised that the formulation of the iconographic formula of so composite a god as Pasupati in whom personalities so distinct as these just mentioned stood integrated establishes the anteriority of each of these several personalities to the composite god and, so, speaks to the pantheon of the culture having been more populous and varied at an earlier stage of the culture than is obvious at first sight. It was recognised that the two sculptured pieces in the round round at Harappa that of Nataraja

5. Vishnu is Gopati, or Gopala, in his own right and as subverter of Indra's supremacy and usurper of the rites rendered unto him. He has also the character of a Yogi. He too has four heads in manifestations such as Vaikunthanatha, Visvarupa, Trailokyamohana and Dattatreya. He is preceptor too, atleast because he is the Gita-Acharya, the propounder of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The line of distinction between Pasupati and Gopati becomes, then, so thin that ah identification of the two personages would seem to be called for. But Vishnu and Rudra (Siva) were so distinct in even Vedic times that Pasupati and Gopati were probably distinct, though parallel, personalities. It may be that there were sects in even Vedic times and that they insisted on seeing a common idea in different forms.

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be any but the heads and limbs needed to convert the torsos into full-fledged images[7]. But it was not realised that there was no need to disrupt these small figurines into torsos, heads and limbs and to keep them loose were it not also intended that the heads and limbs should be capable of being affixed in varying positions to the torsos and even that heads and limbs differently designed to exemplify different shapes and moods should be capable of being employed, so that the same Harappan iconography then must have been quite a complicated and varied system, with a plentiful stock of ingenious apparatus, by the variation of which an idol could be made to assume a number of characters and to play quite a number of roles. If the gods themselves were numerous and if each god could reveal himself in different manifestations, there can be no gainsaying that the religion of the Harappa culture had a more varied content and form than has been realised and had had a longer history than has been conceived of as possible.

More light on these points could have been obtained from a few other finds, seals and sealings, had they not been treated as puzzles-mainly because an interpretation of the principal seal could not be ventured on with confidence owing to its having been believed to be in a damaged condition[8]. It has turned out now that this belief is erroneous[9] It is probable that the seal had passed out of the seal cutter's hands before receiving the finishing touches,[10] but it is obvious that it has sustained no damage and that it is quite intact and intelligible in every feature. This seal and the few others similar to it testify to the presence of a few more gods in this culture and it looks very probable that one of these gods ranks as the foremost among them all. These new-found gods are also such good companions of those other gods of this culture

7. Marshall, 45, differing from H. Hargreaves, in ASI. An. Rep., 1929; 79, and M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* 1940 , 295. A small stock of 'spare parts' for application to the images taken out in public processions during festivals is kept in south Indian temples.
8. Marshall,—63-5.
9. Appendix to this section and also Ses Section II and also Para 8, below.
10. The character to the right of the root of the tree and the characters above the goat have not been completed and the margins of the seal near these points and to the left of the row of seven figures have yet to be trimmed.

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with whom we have been familiar for the past twenty years that they establish, by their presence, the homogeneity and the individuality,—even the identity—of the culture which they testify to.

This is not all. The chief of these gods is much more than the greatest of them. He appears to be the personification of one of the noblest concepts of philosophy: he seems to be no other and no less than Brahman,—the Absolute. It would seem that in this culture had been effected a blending of Religion and Philosophy at even this early date.

APPENDIX—The conclusions set down in Sections II to VII and in parts of Sec. I, X and XI had been reached by me in 1935, some time after Marsall's Mohengy—Daro and the Indis Civilization, (1931) became available here. I could not. however, treat them as valid so long as I could not be sure of the character of the scene in the most important of the seals which are discussed here. That seal having been believed to be in a damaged condition and the object which serves for Cynosure in it having been treated as uncertain, I had to allow for the possibility of that object being discovered to be something inconsistent with the suppliant god in the scene being Karttikeya. I had to keep judgement in suspense, and when I wrote my Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture, (1942), dealing with the sequel to that culture I had to pass over what I sensed to be its true content and character, though I could not help dropping a hint.

Both Marshall and Mackay have in their works illustrated an impression taken from the principal seal. These illustrations, as also the others published so far, appear to be derived from photographs of one particular impression from the seal, for all of them show the same defect. A plaster-cast of another impression taken from the seal by the Archaeological Survey of India and sent to the Madras Government Museum was consulted by me in November 1947, in regard to another matter, and to my surprise I found that the seal was not damaged and that the object about which there had been doubt was, in this impression clear beyond doubt. Dr. A. Aiyappan, Mr. P. R. Srinivasan and Mr. D. J. Jayadev, respectively Superintendent and Curators for Archaeology in that Museum, who were consulted by me, each in ignorance of the opinions of the others and of myself, were quick to render a decided opinion which fully agreed with mine. All of us were independently of the view that the object was a human head placed on a low stand.

A human head in the scene was an object that confirmed the conclusions I had reached in 1935, though I was still unable to decide with certainty on why it should be there,—or whether it was there as an exhibit or as an offering. The point not being, however, vital, I wrote this paper in Decr -January 1947,—consisting then of Sections II to VII and of parts of Sections I, X and XI. I sent a copy in February 1948 to Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Archaeological Survey of India, having high regard for his judgement and hoping to profit from his suggestions, Dr. Agarwala, having had official custody of the seal, took two impressions from it for Study, the Madras impression not having been available to him, but, both impressions failing to reveal the head, he sent them on to me. In turn , I sent the Madras cast to him, through the kindness of Dr. Aiyappan. On a study of this cast Dr. Agarawala had the goodness to write to me in April 1948 that he had found reason to revise his view and that he held that the object on stand may be a human head.

What is set out in Sections VIII and IX and parts of Sections I, X and XI represents an after-thought of February 1948. The raison d'etre of the head was no longer in doubt, that it was a trophy and not an offering became crystal clear. I believe the addition to the paper to be integral to the theory advanced in this thesis. While Sections II-VII showed that Karttikeya made his devoirs to Brahman, Sections VIII and IX show how this had come to pass. The theory has gained greatly in coherence, substance and significance from the after thought.

I may even be permitted to claim that the second thought furnishes proof of the soundness of the theory, if a second thought of 1948 could complete all too unexpectedly a first thought of 1935 and the two thoughts could agree admirably,—as I submit the two here do,—the theory has at least probability in its favour.

While chance had been unfair to Marshall, Mackay and Agarwala, it had been kind to the Madras Museum and, so, to me. I cannot help feeling that if chance had been kinder to Rama Prasad Chanda, the Master who found the clue to the nature of the culture of Harappa and if he had had a sound impression from the seal, the content of the seal might have been long ago elucidated by him. It may be that his apprisal of the affinities and the implications of the scene in the seal might have differed from what is offered here, but it may equally have happened that he would have found ground enough to revise his view.

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II. FIVE SCENES

The material for the identification of a number of the gods of this culture is found in five scenes depicted in five objects,—seals, sealings and amulets,—found as relics at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. These deserve to be described in some detail and require to be studied with care

SCENE A

A tree which, 'from its leaves appears to be the pipal (ficus religiosa)', occupies 'the right- hand top corner of a seal.[1] and is 'represented by two branches only springing from a circle on the ground' Between the branches 'appears a standing nude figure, with long hair, trisula, horns and amulets. In front of the tree is the half-kneeling figure of a suppliant, also with long hair, armlets and horns, but with the addition of a leaf-spray or plume between the horns. Behind the suppliant is a composite animal, part bull, part goat (?), with human face. In the field below is a line of seven small standing figures, with dresses reaching to the knees, with a long plait of hair falling down the back, and a plume on the head'. A small object 'near the feet of the suppliant is uncertain, as the seal is slightly damaged at this point', but 'possibly it is an offering on a small altar, or possibly an incense table.[2] This description requirs revision.

The figure between the branches of the tree has been taken to be a female because of 'the absence of any evidence of male sex', of tree deities being, in India, deemed usually to be female and of the seven figures in a row below appearing to be women.[3] These arguments are far from sound. The absence of evidence of sex in a figure shown nude can argue, prima facie, no more for its feminity than for its masculinity. The deity of the tree is not infrequently, in India, a male, the pipal, to go no farther than the trees in this

1. Marshal, 63-5, 12 (18), E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro* (1937), 337-38 94 (432), 99 (A)
2. Marshall, 63-5. Compare Mackay, 337-8, and Chanda, in M. Rev., 1932 Aug., 159.
3. Marshall, 64 ; Mackay, 33-8.

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seal, is sacred to the male god Vishnu.[4] Males not being infrequently figured in the nude in these antiquities,[5] while 'none of the female figures are represented entirely as nude,[6] it is not probable that the figure in the tree is a female[7].

The pose of the god in the tree is so obviously that of one of the yogic stances[8] that we cannot but agree that the god takes care to manifest himself in this scene as a yogi. The differences between the figure in the tree and the seven figures below are unmistakeable. The former is apparently nude while the latter do wear clothing which covers atleast the nether half. The pig-tail of the former has all the appearance of being wound round with coils of something in strands, while the latter wear long pig tails with, perhaps, ribbons looping at the ends. The former wears a horn crown, with a plume waving from it, while the latter wear only plumes. So the figure in the tree is evidently a male and a god, while the seven are, obviously, personages of a lower grade and of the feminine sex.[9]

The suppliant figure also has been taken to be a woman,[10] but, being similar to the figure in the tree in nudity it is most probably of the male sex. Suppliant though it be, the horn-crown which it bears differentiates it from the seven who wear none and seems to mark it out as of the status of a god.

The animal behind the suppliant has been variously held to be compounded of man and bull and goat, perhaps, ram, or of man and goat.[11] But, the indicia are too clear to be mistaken

4. Maha-Bharata, 13 Anu-, Anu-, 126 *Devarahasya*-:5, 1b., 149 Vishnor-, 101, E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (1915), 208.
5. Marshall, 33, Vats 295. The nude figure is not unusually a male, in west Asian art, from the very earliest times, being a priest or a hero, H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), 19,59,74,87.9.
6. Mackay See para 37.261.
7. Mackay says, 335-6, that 'possibly both male and female deities were represented with pig-tils on occasion.'
8. Chanda, in M. Rev, 1932 Aug., 159.
9. Marshall, 64, Mackay, 337. It has been assumed that seven are ministrants.
10. Mackav, 338.
11. Marshall, 64. 69, Chanda in M. Rev., 1932 Aug, 159.

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as to which animal it was designed essentially to represent, notwithstanding that it is composite. The shaggy neck, the twisted horns, the short upraised tail and the characteristic posterior take the animal out of the bovidae and place it among the capridae.

The object near the feet of the suppliant, though surmised to be an offering on an altar or a table, has been held to be difficult of identification. In the attempt to secure high relief in the sealing the seal has been carved into so deep that the plastic material into which the seal is pressed does not rise high into the intanglio regions of the seal to be properly and fully moulded by the carving in the seal: naturally, the sealing fails to render correctly the device carved in the seal. The inability to identify this object is, to judge by the photographs that have been published, due to the impressions taken from the seal having turned out faulty. A good impression now available shows the object clearly,[12] though with a peculiarity which retards by a trice the recognition of the object but by no more than a trice. The stand, which is quite a low one, is clear and on it there appears an object as unmistakeable as it is gruesome, a human head. Severed at the neck from the torso and placed on the low stand, A good, round head it is, carved in in profile and in as high relief as glyptic art allows, though the domed head and the plump right cheek have thrown the ears and the nose into insignificance, notwithstanding that the former are distinctly shown as the pair they are, (though one below the other) and that the nose stands out and up. The head faces the figure in the tree. The trifling delay in an immediate recognition of the object is due to the peculiar delineation of the right eye, the only one that could be indicated,-which is shown, not in profile as the orientation of the head requires, but in full front view, so that eyelids and pupil traverse and obliterate the temple and cut the head in two.[13] A staring eye divides the head into an upper and a lower sector.

12. See. Appendix to Section 1.

13. The other figures too in the seal, including the goat, suffer from the same ocular peculiarity. Chanda, in M. Rev., 1932 Aug., 159, noticed this feature and cited Sumerian parallels. This is as early as the seals of the Uruk period, *circa* 3000 B.C., see Frankfort, 19, 3d.

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The head turns to the figure in the tree but the eye glares at him who looks at the head.[14]

A symbol to the right of the foot of the tree has been assumed to be 'a square-partitioned receptacle' for offerings to the figure in the tree,[15] but it appears so frequently as a sign[16] in the legends in the seals of this culture that it is obviously an isolated character in the legend which this seal bears.

The scene which this seal presents may, now, be described thus in brief. Before a male god standing in a tree in a yoga pose there kneels a suppliant god, of the same sex and of almost equal rank, and both his hands are raised high before a human head placed on a low stand at the foot of the tree. Behind the suppliant looms large a god who is essentially a goat. Apart from tree and suppliant and goat stand,—or, perhaps, march,—seven women,[17] in single file, apparently looking away from them and the head.

SCENE B.

In a seal of which only the lower half has been found,[18] a set of signs, forming a legend,[19] occupies the right quarter, while a group of seven figures, apparently marching in single file towards the legend, occurs in the left quarter. The group not being so well delineated as in the other seal we cannot say to which sex its members belong.

14. It is perhaps the failure to note this peculiarity that led Marshall and Mackay to refrain from persisting in securing better casts from the seal, and to treat it as damaged.
15. Mackay, 338.
16. Sign No. 292, see Marshall, 436 (30, 126 Vats, 113. But the legend has gone unreconled by both G.R. Mumta notices it in his Scentf of Rohugs-Daro and Harappa (Q'4), 123, 188, 205.
17. A series of very fine lines emerge from the pig-tails of the seven. Perhaps they are the free ends of petals of flowers like the screw-pine interwoven in the pig-tails for their fragrance. See also Marshall.
18. Vats, 91 (251).
19. Reproduced as Signs Nos. 43, 184, 228 and 289, in Marshall, 120, 124, 126. A damaged sign is shown in one from in pl. 126 and in anothhr in pls. 120, 124. the number of the seal being given H. 105.

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SCENE C.

A seal impression, which suffers from poor definition,[20] appears to present a scene similar in essentials to scene A, though not without variations.[21] The tree-god is here in a tree whch is not unlike the pipal. The suppliant does not seem to wear a horn-crown and, so, he may not be a god. He kneels far in the left, facing the god in the tree and 'holding a broad-bladed object in one hand'. The goat, sans human face and shrunk in girth and dignity, and having got between suppliant and tree, stands facing the tree-god. All these, including tree and its god, have sunk into the lower half of the sealing. The group, the sex of the members of which 'it is impossible to determine', and whose number is six—not seven,—has the appearance, on the other hand, of having risen into the upper half and of looking down at the tree-god and the scene below.[22] It is more appropriate to take it that the upper half shows the background of the scene and that the group, having stationed itself in the background, looks on in silence at the scene which is being enacted before it. The suggestion has been made that 'this most interesting scene is that a priest is about to sacrifice a goat to a tree-spirit.[23]

SCENE D.

One face of a prismatic amulet has been said to picture 'a horned figure with arms adorned with bracelets', standing at the extreme right 'between two trees whose leaves resemble those of

20. Marshall, 393, 12 (15), 116 (1), 118 (7). The seal lacks a legend.

21. The reverse of this piece bears the same impression, but even more faintly, Marshall, 393.

22. This scene has been differently described. It 'consists of six or seven human figures standing in a row above and a goat-drawn vehicle drawn by a man below. These persons are probably approaching a tree in the right-hand-corner, in the bifurcated branches of which is to be seen a human figure probably the presiding deity of the tree' K. N. Dikahit in ASI.AR., 1924-5, 65, 22 (b). The description in the text above is preferred by me as it is later and is, presumably, based on closer scrutiny of the object, accompanied as it was by the preparation of a line-sketch to bring out the fainter features: Marshall 393: 118 (7).

23. Mackay, 393.

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the pipal', on the left, 'a sacred goat decorated with garlands', while 'beyond, a kneeling horned deity, apparently a goddess, holds out both hands in supplication', and 'at the extreme left is a little offering-table, upon which stands something not unlike a bird'[24]

There appears to be no compelling reason to assume two trees in the scene. Indeed, it has been recognised that if two trees are to be granted, we cannot say why each has leaves on only one side.[25] The two 'trees' are only two stems of one tree conventionally rendered with foliage on only the outer side of each stem so that the god between may not be smothered by leaves on the inner sides.

The suppliant figure is no goddess, for, if we may judge from the illustration, it is nude, just like the similar figure in the most important of our scenes.[26]

The object on the stand is too 'damaged' to be certain about, but a guess has been advanced that it is a bird.

The placing of the goat between the god and the suppliant, and of the stand and the object on it behind the suppliant, seems to suggest an attempt at perspective,—showing the goat as occupying the foreground and the offering, or exhibit, as located beside the suppliant.[27]

The scene may, therefore, be reconstructed thus: a male god kneels as suppliant before a male god in a tree who casts an approving glance at an exhibit, or offering, which is beside him, and a goat, big and bold, stands witness, in the foreground,

SCENE E.

A small sealing, the details in which are not clear,[28] shows a figure in what may be an arbour-shrine formed of the bent bough

24. Mashall, 54: 12 (22); Mackay, 351:82 (1c). Compare Chanda, in M.Rev., 1932 Aug. 159.
25. Mackay, 351.
26. Scene A.
27. Below the upraised arms of the suppliant there appears a blotch which may be an object, but its character cannot be guessed at because of the indefiniteness of the impression.
28. Marshall, 64: 12(19); Vats, 195: 93(316); Chanda, in M. Rev., 1932 Aug., 159. This comes from Harappa.

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at the right, conventionally rendered as in a few other seals of this culture,[29] a diminutive suppliant, perhaps half-kneeling, facing the figure in the 'shrine', and a goat at the left, also facing the figure in the 'shrine' and overshadowing the suppliant.[30]

The horn-crown does not appear to be worn by either of the human figures in the scene; none the less, the presence of one of the figures in a 'shrine' would seem to mark it for a god. The arbour is peculiar in that the tree that forms it does not spring from earth. It is a leafy bough and it bends into an arch, making the arbour, and the tips of the bending arms turned away from earth. Between the suppliant and the outline of the arbour are blotches which may be no more than bad renderings of the leaves which, repeated all along the outer margin of the outline, make it look like an arbour. No object of interest is indicated by the blotches, unless fancy runs them together into an animal rearing to left.

III. THE PLAY.

The inter-relations between the scenes become clear on an analysis of their main features:

Scene	God in tree	Suppliant	Goat	Group	Cynosure	Legend
A	God Asvattha upright	Suppliant-God	Goat behind, large	Seven foregr-ound	Head in middle	Legend
B	....[31]	...[31]	...	Seven	...	Legend[31] ...
C	God Asvattha upright	Suppliant, with blade	Goat: between, small	Six	...	...
D	God Asvattha upright	Suppliant, God:	Goat between large	...	Bird ? apart	
E	God Asvattha inverted	Suppliant	Goat behind large	...	?	

29 For instances : Marshall, 63: 12(13, 14), Vats, 331-2 93 (307, 317).
30 'A goat of inordinately large size' : Vats, 195 : 93 (316).
31 See footnote to Section II

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The fullest and the clearest of the scenes is undoubtedly the one (A) in which we find god in tree suppliant-god, goat, group of seven and a human head. If the head is an offering, the goat is not another in the scene, however acceptable as offering it may be: if the head is an exhibit in a scene of valour, the goat may be a sacrificial offering.[2] The goat, however, resolves all doubts by vigorously retreating from the vicinity of the head on stand and taking his station behind the suppliant god, as if it were afraid that the deity in the tree might mistake him for an additional offering and gobble him up. The goat is clearly a spectator in the scene.[3] It is the head that is the offering if one is needed in the scene.

The scene nearest to this in context is the one (D) in which appear the two gods, the goat and the exhibit or offering. What the last may be is not clear: it may have even been intended for a human head. The goat is again no more than a spectator.

The scene that is simplest and perhaps, is the farthest from the fullest is the one (E) in which the god in tree the suppliant and the goat appear, but no offering or exhibit is discernible beyond doubt. The presence of the goat in this scene between the god and the suppliant raises, therefore, the question whether the goat is here as interested spectator or as animated exhibit or as imminent offering.

A scene that raises the same question but is fuller is the one (C) in which god, suppliant, goat and group appear, but neither stand nor object thereon is to be seen. That the group is composed of six, and not seven, does not affect the *quaestio vexata* in the scene,—whether an offering is being made to the god in tree or an

1 The severed human head is often an ornament in west Asian seals: Frankfort, 240,37 (f), 29 (a, h), 30 (a). Even rows of human heads were pictured as they 'supplied a useful means of filling space: *ib.*, 256: 40 (m) 41 (d,e,k). These date from about 2,000 B. C. to about 1,700 B. C. The head in our seal has an altogether different purpose.

2 Marshall, 64, reaches this conclusion on the reasoning that an animal 'of a mythical composite nature' cannot be sacrificial one. Vats, 195, argues that the animal, not being shown bound or captive, may not be an offering.

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exhibit is displayed before him. There is no object in the scene that could be likened to the human head. The goat being the only object between god in tree and suppliant, it is the goat that is the only possible offering, if it is imperative that the picture should be construed as a snap-shot of a sacrificial occasion. This interpretation found acceptance because the suppliant was taken for a priest and the object in his hand was taken for a blade.[3] But the seal-impression is so faint that we cannot be sure of the absence of the horn-crown from the head of the suppliant or of the presence of a blade in his hand, or of the goat being a plain person, instead of being a composite animal, with man for an ingredient,who would have been too wise and wary to be inveigled into the role of a sacrificial offering. Even should the blade be there, its function need not be that of a sacrificial knife. The suppliant may not be a god or goding, but may be a warrior confidently brandishing his trusty sword: he need not be a priest about to plunge the knife into the sacrifical victim. The scene may not, be one of a sacrificial offering, it may be one in which a god, or a warrior, a superior deity exhibits his head before in the presence of a goat-god and of a host or group of spectators, and bends the knee to him in token of homage.

The fragmentary scene in which a group of seven appears before a legend (B) will stand related to the fullest scene (A) if only we assume that the head stands for the god in tree and that the goat and the seven were pictured in the missing portion—the upper half. The probabilities are that that assumption is well-founded and that the scene in the full seal corresponded in essentials to what we have found to be the fullest of our scenes. The three trees rising vertically and dividing into two stems to accommodate a god between and the bough which from on high bends down to form a 'shrine' for a god are all asvatthas.

All these scenes are obviously connected with one another. In every one of them there appear a god in tree a suppliant and a goat, except in the one (B) which is fragmentary, and every one of the tree is asvattha. The four scenes that are complete divide into two groups,—one in which an exhibit or offering appears in the scene (A,D) and another in which it does not (C, E). The first

3 Marshall, 393.

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group is, then, one in which the goat is a spectator and not an offering, while in the second group the goat is liable to be taken for the offering. But, in one of the scenes (E) of the second group the goat having placed itself behind the suppliant and, therefore, out of harm's way, it is only in the other scene (C) of this group that the goat could be sacrificial.

When the goat is a spectator in three out of the four scenes in which it figures need we accept that in the fourth scene(C) it is a sacrificial offering, because of its being found between the god in tree and the suppliant ? If the seal-cutter had decided that the goat should be shown in the foreground it was inevitable that he should have placed the goat between the god in tree and the suppliant, increased the space between them so as to find the needed accommodation in the fore-ground and magnified the size of the goat. This is what has happened, in fact, in the other scene (D) in which the goat is in the fore-ground : the seal-cutter has even placed the exhibit (or offering) behind the suppliant, iustead of beside, or in front, so that the fore-ground may be clear for the goat. That the Harappan seal-cutter was not mistaken in his practice of perspective is put beyond doubt by his having delineated the goats with great success in the scenes (A,E) in which he wished to throw them into prominence, without, however, bringing them into the foreground. But, in this scene (C) the goat is a small and pitiful specimen of its kind which seems to slink away from the foreground. Are we then, for this reason,—and for this reason alone,—to treat the goat as intended here for a sacrificial offering ? Is it not more likely that in the very small scale in which the seal-cutter had to carve in the seal, it being only three-fourths of an inch square,—his hand found itself too cramped and, even inexpert to observe the rule of perspective with success and that it failed to make the goat swell out in girth and figure ? All things considered, it appears that the animal,—whether goat, ram or bull, or amalgam of these, with man thrown in as additional ingredient,—is a visitor and not a victim.

The question, then, is whether we have one class of scenes (A,D,E) in which the goat is a spectator and another class,—of only

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one scene (C),—in which the goat is an offering or exhibit. If two classes of scenes are to be recognised we shall have to accept the size of the goat as the sole criterion of differentiation, for we have found that none of the other differences is material. The large goats should be the spectators while the small goat is the offering; the scene (D) in which offering or exhibit appears and the goat stands in the foreground will have to get grouped with the scene (E) in which no offering or exhibit appears and the goat has got behind the suppliant. The scenes, then, become unintelligible. So untenable is such an interpretation that one more appropriate appears to be clearly called for.

If we recognise that what is material is the position of the goat in the scene, and not its size, we are quick to realise that the goat standing between god in tree and suppliant and in the foreground (Scenes C,D) is there because of its importance in the play and that its station in the scene is not conditioned by its being about to become victim in a sacrifice. The validity of this interpretation is enforced by one of these very scenes (D), for it does picture an offering, or exhibit, other than goat. We come back, thus, to the grouping with which we started: two of the scenes (A,D) are sacrificial or exhibitionary, according as the object on the stand is offering or object of display, and two others (C, E) are not.

The heptad and the hexad are each prominent in the play in which they occur, but neither seems to be more than a group of spectators whose presence does not affect the character of the scenes to which they are witnesses.

An interpretation of the five scenes as different snap-shots of the same one-Act play is, therefore, the interpretation that appears to be appropriate. The dominating character in the play is the god in tree, the main actor is the suppliant god, the sponsor is the goat and the severed head is the complication,—offering or state exhibit, while the heptad or the hexad be it in the foreground or in the background,—is the crowd. The god in tree holds court and the suppliant god makes obeisance and the goat smiles approval, around a head that asks why it is there.

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IV THE PLAYERS

We have no hopes of identifying the dramatis personae, major and minor, of this play in the light of the other antiquities that have been exhumed at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, for that material is yet all too sparse. The Pasupati seal and the Natara statuette were self-explanatory and their content was unmistakable, but the seals we are concernd with do not so obviously explain themselves and the characters who figure in them do not proclaim their identity with fanfare and flourish.

The culture of these remains was in contact with the contemporary cultures of west Asia, but none of the characters who figure in the cultures of those areas, contemporary to that of Harappa or even later, appears to have got transformed into any of the personalities of our scenes. The god in tree and the suppliant-god exhibit no such special characteristics as enable us to identify them with one or other of the west Asian heroes or gods. The goat has associations in west Asia with merodach and with Tammuz, as sentinel of the night-heaven and lord of sheep-folds; it is the form in which Uz was worshipped, Ursa Major (the great Bear) may have been the 'goat with six heads': Anshar, chief goat-man or satyr, is danced round by six goat-men, the six astral gods: the giants of the sea are seven in number.[1] Here is a bunch of similarities, or parallels, but no manner of reiationship of these with our characters may be postulated, for none of them fits into the context of any of the five scenes which we are studying. Try how we may, these characters cannot be brought to exact our play.

The only other ancient culturc in which parallels could be sought is the one testified to by the Vedic and the Puranic literatures of India itself.

The Asvattha tree,—pippala, pipal fig-tree, ficus religiosa,—is associated with the Maruts, who were believed to stay in,[2] or stand on,[3] that tree, but the Maruts are a group who are thrice

1 Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, 34, 332-3; Spence, *Myths and Legends of Babylonia and Assyria*, 93,292.

2 *Satapatha-Brahmana*, 5.2.1.17; 5.3.5.14.

3 *Satapatha-Brahmana*, 4.3.3.6.

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seven or thrice sixty in number, while our tree shelters a figure all too solitary. It is the seat of the gods in the third heaven from here,[4] but, in our scenes there are only a few of the gods and only one of them is in the tree. It is associated with Indra, Mitra and Varuna,[5] and confers overlordship, being evidently the destroyer of enemies.[6] It is identified with Vishnu.[7] In later literature, it is in its shade that Skanda resides for ever at Soma-tirtha[8]

The personage who figures as suppliant appears to be a god in the scenes in which he is clear and, in the others, he betrays no features that preclude him from being one: it is, therefore, appropriate that he be treated as a god. He bears no marks that help to identify him: he may even be passed over as a godling of no distinction but for his having his station before the head on stand and but for his being permitted to pay court,—whether in manner secular or sacrificial,—to the deity in the tree. His identifieation depends, therefore, on the elucidation of thc play pictured in the seals and on the identification of the other characters who have roles in the play.

The goat carries[9], or draws, the car[10] of, Pushan who, born on the far paths, knows them[11] and, so, shows the way to, and conducts, the dead to the Fathers[12]. The goat conducts also the sacrificial horse, and announces its arrival, to the gods,[13] or the arrival of the dead.[14] These functions of the goat are similar to those of Agni, who knows the paths and conveys the sacrifice,[15]

4 *Atharva-Veda*, 5.4.3; 19.39.6.
5 *Atharva-Veda*, 3.6.2.
6 'Of trees the asvattha is the overcomer of foes; (Verily it serves) for victory' *Taittiriya-Samhita*, 5.1.10. See *Aitareya-Brahmana*, 7.32; 8. 16.
7 References cited under Section , *fn.*
8 *Maha-Bharata*, 9 *Salya:--Gada* , 43 *Bala-Tirtha.*
9 *Rg-Veda*, 6.55.4.
10 *Rg-Veda*, 6.55.3. see A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (1897), 35.
11 *Rg-Veda*, 6.17.6.
12 *Rg-Veda*, 10.17.3.5. 'Perhaps to Pushan's familiarity with the (steep) paths is due to the notion that his car is drawn by the sure-footed goat': Macdonell, 35.
13 *Rg-Veda*, 1.163.3.4; 1.163.13 : see Macdonell, 164; A.B. Keith, *Religion and Phil. of Vedas & Upanishads* (1925), 108.
14 *Atharva-Veda*, 9.5.1,3: See Macdonell, 164: Keith, 423-4. It is probably to enable the goat to do so that it is tied to the funeral pyre 'so loosely that it can break the cord' : Keith, 419.
15 *Rg-Veda*, 1.72.7.

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goes on the paths leading to the gods,[16] knows the innermost recesses of heaven and goes up its ascents[17] and conducts the dead on the paths between this and the other world.[18] Agni, and the goat are, thus, synonymous: though this is not expressly stated in the earlier Vedic literature it is well recognised in the later, in which the goat is several times connected, or identified with Agni.[19]

In the puranas the goat is not only Agni[20] but also Naigamesha, who is the personage known variously as Karttikeya, Skanda and Kumara,[21] or he is Kumara's brother[22] or son.[23]

The ram,–if, as has been hinted, the figure in the fullest of our scenes is one, and not a goat,[24]—is Indra[25] or Varuna.[26] The bull, the other candidate for recognition, may be Agni, Indra, Dyaus, Rudra, Soma or Surya.[27]

The group of seven may be any one of quite a number of heptads, but it may not be one other than the stars of Krittika, the seasons, the consorts of Agni or Indra, the Maruts, the Sapta-Matrikas, the pitr-devatas and the sacrifices.[28] The group of six may represent a hexad like the stars of Krittika or the seasons.[29]

16 *Rg-Veda*, 10.98.22.
17 *Rg-Veda*, 4.7.8.
18 *Rg-Veda*, 10.16.2.4; also, for instance, *Taittiriya-Aranyaka*, 6.3.1.4.
19 Macdonell, 151, citing H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), 78.
20 *Maha-Bharata*, 13 *Anu* : *Anu*, 84 *Suvarna* : 47.
21 *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana* : *Skandot-*, 226 *Skanda* : 29; *ib.*, *Skandopa*, 228, *Skanda* 3,5; Hopkins, 103, 228.
22 *Matsya-Purana*, 5.26-7.
23 *Vishnu-Purana*, 1.4.
24 Marshall, 66.
25 *Rg-Veda* 8.2.40, 1.51.1.; *Satapatha Brahmana*, 22.3.3.4.18.
26 *Taittiria-Syamhita*. 5.5.22.24; *Maha-Bharata*. 13 *Anu* : *Anu* : 75 *Dana* 37; *ib.* 85 *Suvarna*: 147.
27 See Macdonell, 18, 31, 88, 106, 120, 150, for instance.
28 A few other such groups may be just mentioued, the elements, the planets, the stars, the dvipas, the seas, the hills, the rivers, the nether regions, the cities, the cows, the steeds of Surya and of Vishnu, the animals, sisters friends, tongues, and sticks of Agni, the Adityas, the sisters, Prajapati as composed of seven persons, the Danavas, the demons, the rishis, men, the hotrs, the breaths in the head, the dvaras, the metres, the constituents of a kingdom, the treasures of the emperor, the maryadas.
29 Of such groups mention may be made of the forts, the chakras, the parts of the body, the seats of the senses, the flavours, the qualities, the karmas, the systems of philosophy.

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With each of the characters in the scenes answering to such numerous and varied identifications, it looks impossible to decide in which capacity each of them figures in our five scenes. The difficulty, however, is more apparent than real. All of them appear together in at least one scene and they can have no place in it unless each of them bears a character and plays role which will be consonant with the characters and the roles of the others. If they had no common purpose they could not have gathered round the head and if they did have a common purpose they could not have been strangers to one another.

If the asvattha tree, for instance, stands for the Maruts, if the group of seven cannot also represent the Maruts, for that will be to have the Maruts twice in the scene. By the same reasoning the ram cannot be Varuna, if that is also the god who tenants the tree. If the god in tree is Indra the seven may ipso facto, have a place in the play as his consorts but they may not be in it as the seven consorts of Agni, unless it be that as such they too are characters in the play. What we know of Indra's consorts does not, however, bring them into such a context as the one we are concerned with. To hold that the heptad represents the Sapta-Matrikas and that the hexad represents the Seasons is to hold that the crowd in the one scene is not the crowd in the other and that the five scenes may, therefore, be desparate in content.

The Seasons are sometimes enumerated as six in Vedic literature and sometimes as seven.[31] So, the hypothesis presents itself that it is the Seasons that are involved in our scenes, but it fades out when the seasons are found to have no relevancy in the scenes. The presence of the head in the scene wherein appear a group of seven who may be the Father-gods (if the group be one of males, and the presence of the god in tree, who may be one of the other gods, may suggest that the goat has come into the scene guiding the man who was unfortunate enough to get decapitated (represented by the severed head) along the far paths to his seven pitrdevatas and to his god, but the fancy must vanish when we have to account for the suppliant-god interposing himself in the scene,

31 It should be enough to refer to Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, (1912), 1 : 100.1.

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brushing the goat aside, stationing himself before the beheaded victim and proffering an application to the god in the tree, to the evident satisfaction of the goat.

Considerations such as these rule out many hypotheses and identifications as having no serious claims on our attention. We shall not be able to elucidate the play or to identify the players unless we appreciate the general similarity of the five scenes and formulate a hypothesis that will explain all five of them.

V THE GOAT AND THE GROUPS

Of the characters who partake in the play the goats and the groups are those who give themselves away more easily than the others.

The physical characteristics of the animal in these scenes stamp it indubitably as goat, as we have already seen. Even were it ram or bull, no associations are established with the other figures in the tableau that help to an identification. The ram, as Indra or as Varuna, and the bull, in any character other than Agni, do not get into episodes that have a place in our play. The bull as Agni is but a reflection of the goat as Agni. So, it is on the animal being a goat that we have to rely for the discovery of an explanation.

The goat, in the most important of our scenes (A), is a masterly personality who feels that he has good reason to be proud of himself. Stationing himself at a conspicuous point in the scene and drawing himself up to his full height, he seeks to dominate the scene, proud in that the suppliant god is but his protege and that it is by his grace that the suppliant could get presented to the god of the tree: he beams around mightily pleased with the protege and with himself. Not without justification is the pleasure. Either the protege had brought a human head and is proffering it to his god as testimony to his valour or to his devotion or to both, or the god in tree is granting him audience on an occasion the importance of which is spoken to by the presence of the head. The patron goat, in the embarrassment of an excess of feeling, forgets his rank and, retracting slightly on the haunches, concedes more space to the protege than his slender figure needs. In the patron's

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pleasure it is almost possible to detect traces of affection for the protege. Patronly pride may be united to parental affection.

The goat is Naigmesha, but so obscure a personage is Naigamesha that we have no means of accounting for his partaking in such an incident as the one we are concerned with. The goat is also Daksha, but we know of nothing in Daksha's career that could have taken him into a scene such as is depicted in our seals. The goat is also Agni, as we have seen, and this equation though not immediately helpful, turns out fruitful, leading as it does to other equations that solve our problem.

In Vedic literature, Agni is said to be a bull[1] and is a ddressed as one:[2] he is strong necked steer,[3] with sharpened horn[4] or wiih one thousand horns.[5] And the anthropomorphism of Vedic fancy has affected even Agni. Susceptible of being conceived of both as bull and goat, and, at the same time, as goat-man. He is, thus, the goat-bull-man that we find depicted in the principal one of our tableaux. Even if the animal is not goat but is bull, we reach, in effect, the conclusion that it is Agni who is intended and this is confirmed by the touch of anthropomorphism in the composite animal of the seal. So, our conclusions do not vary whether we treat the animal as goat or bull or as goat and bull or as goat-bull-man.

When the goat-bull-man is Agni the heptad may well represent the seven consorts of Agni, for nothing could be more in keeping than that when a father presents the son to his god the fond mothers should also be present as happy witnesses to the presentation. But, this does not accord with the number in the other of the groups being six, for Agni is not known to have lost one of his seven consorts. A hypothesis that reconciles the two numbers is what is needed.

Among the groups which we have already noticed there ia one not the members of which could be seven or six, without spelling a difference. This is the Krittika group. Originally the Krittikas

1 Rg-*Veda*, 4.1.12.
2 Rg-*Veda*, 8.49.14.
3 Rg-*Veda*, 5.2.12.
4 Rg-*Veda*, 6.16.39.
5 Rg-*Veda*, 5.1.8.

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were believed to be seven, being the wives of the seven rishis[6] but they were also numbered as no more than six, though it was not forgotten that they were also seven.[7] Should we accept the Krittikas for our seven and six, the goat-bull-man of our scenes may not be Agni, unless the Krittikas could be the mothers and Agni could be the father of the suppliant hero.

VI THE HERO

Agni and the Krittikas are characters in the periphery of the scene. Close to the centre if not at it is the suppliant. To establish his identity is to take a long stride towards an elucidation of the mystery of the play.

When Agni plays patron so obviously and the protege is so clearly a stripling the relationship between them may be presumed to be that of father and son. So too, when the Krittikas, the seven or the six, have deployed themseives in the scene, desirous of being spectators, they may be presented to have come on account of a tender relationship which may be that of mothers, to the stripling. If these guesses are to be hits, an intimate relationship should, in fact, subsist between Agni, the Krittikas aud the stripling. This relationship is indeed established by certain ancient tales about these personages.

One story goes that in days of yore the vital seed of Mahesvara (Siva) fell into blazing Agni (Fire) who,unable to bear it within himself, cast it into the Ganga who, for the same reason, cast it on Himavat, where 'Agni's son' began to grow apace. The Krittikas, the wives of the seven rishis, who were keen for a son gave him suck, he assuming six mouths to feed from the six mothers. When taken for presentation to Mahesvara, he assumed four forms of which one was that of goaty Naigamesha.[1]

6 *Taitttriya-Samhita*, 4.4.5.1; *Satapatha-Brahmana*, 2.1.2.4. See Macd nell and Keith, 2.414. 'Krttika, presided over by Agni, shines as if with seven heads', *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vama Skndot*, 230 *Manushya* 11. From about the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. the Krttikas (Pleiades) are figured in west Asian seals as composed of seven stars : Frankfort, 195, 157. Assyrian mythology tells of seven ante-diluvian sages.

7 The references follow presently.

1 *Maha-Bharata*, 9 *Salya, Gada*, 44 *Kumarabhisheka.*

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Another story narrates that Agni, having fallen in love with the Krttikas, wives of the seven rshis, whom it was impossible to seduce, and Svaha having fallen in love with Agni who did not, however, return the compliment, Svaha set a snare for Agni and, personating six out of the seven wives of the rshis,—the seventh being too devoted to her husband for even an impersonation of her for such a purpose to be successful,—got Agni to consort with her in her six shapes as the six wives in the mistaken belief that his infatuation was being reciprocated by those six ladies. Six times did Svaha cast Agni's seed into a golden lake on a mountain and from the seed did six-faced Skanda arise. Indra, counselled by the gods to have Skanda killed, sent the great Mothers against him, but when their prowess proved ineffective, they adopted him for son and gave him suck and, with Agni, nursed him. A seventh face, like that of a goat, grew among the six other faces. The wives of the rshis, having been disowned by the husbands, adopted Skanda for son.[2]

In a third account, Skanda is called Rudra's son for three reasons: Agni bears the name Rudra, the dwellers of heaven saw Rudra heap honours on Skanda he had his being by Rudra's entry into the constitution of the Fire-god.[3]

Yet another tale tells of the six Krttikas being urged to rear the child, of each of them holding a sixth portion of Agni's seed in the womb, of the six portions issuing and uniting to form Kumara with six heads, of the Krttikas giving him suck and of Agni presenting him with a goat.[4] One other tale has it that Brahma spoke of Karttikeya as Agni's son by Ganga, though he would be thought of as brought forth by Uma, that on the deities, with Indra and the Maruts, enjoining it on the Krttika stars to suckle him, they responded, saying, 'surely he shall be son to us all; and so he was called Karttikeya and that he, assuming six mouths, began to suck milk from the teats of those six.[5] A sixth tale narrates

2 *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana*, *Markan*, 223-6 *Skandot*, *ib.* 228 *Skandopa*.
3 *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana*, *Markan*, 229 *Skandopa*
4 *Maha-Bharata*, 13 *Anu*, *Anu*, 86 *Tarakavadha*.
5 *Ramayana*, 1 *Bala*, 37.

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that Karttikeya issued from Siva's seed in Agni,[6] that he was son of Parvati[7] and of Agni, that he was one of four brothers among whom was Naigamesha and that his foster-mothers were the Krittikas.[8]

These accounts give us a medley of such facts and fancies as were generally received in the days of the Puranas so ancient must the tale have been lengthened that it had split into numerous versions. That the redactors of the works in which these stories are found could not easily reconcile the versions is confessed in a great Purana: 'Some speak of him (Karttikeya) as Sanat-Kumara, son of the Grandsire, the eldest of Brahman's sons, some as Maheswara's son, some as Agni's, some as Uma's, Krttikas', Ganga's or as the son of one of them, or of either of two of these or of any one of four of these.'[9] Through all these accounts, however, runs an acceptance of the fatherhood of Agni and through most of them runs an acknowledgment of the motherhood of the Krttikas. And, in quite a number of them the goat has a very definite place, though in a corner. We may, therefore, take it as quite clear that Agni had a son Karttikeya who was born of Krttikas and that the goat was an intimate of these,—if he was not Agni himself. The presumption thus arises that the suppliant in our seals is none other than Karttikeya.

Vedic literature does not fail to confirm this conclusion. There is enough evidence, as has already been seen, to show that the goat is Agni and that the Krttikas may be seven or six. Agni is also said to be the deity of the Krttikas and to have the Krttikas for his asterism.[10] 'Agni is doubtless their mate and it is with Agni that they have intercourse', for rising as they do in the east[11] they are 'precluded from intercourse with their husbands, the rshis

6 *Matsya-Purana*, 146, 10.1.
7 *Matsya-Purana*, 158. 27.41. Asvaghosha tells of Skanda, 'the son of Agni', being 'seated on Devi's side' : *Buddha-Chitra*, 1.66.
8 *Matsya Purna*, 5.26.7. So also *Maha-Bharata*, 1 *Adi*, *Sambhava* 66, *Amsa*, 24.
9 *Maha-Bharata* 9 *Salya*, *Gada*, 46 *Taraka-vadha*.
10 *Taitti.iya-Samhita*, 4.4.10.1., *Tatttiriya-Brahmana*, 1.5.1., 1.1.2., 3.1.1. *Satapaha-Brahmaua*, 2. 1.2.1.
11 Agni being identified with Surya, uniting with him, *Rg-Veda*, 5.37.1., 7.2.1., 10.88.6., *Aitar-ya-Brahmana*, 8.18.9.13., the riding of Surya and of the Krttikas in the east together is obviously thought of as intercourse.

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who rise in the north'.[12] Agni's existence is in the seven mothers. Karttikeya is Mahasena and Shanmukha (the six-faced).[13] Kumara and an exploit of his may also have been known at an early date.[14]

The closeness of the parallelism between the references to Agni & Karttikeya in the Vedic and the Puranics ources is obvious: indeed, the two sets of references agree so well that the Puranic ones read as if they were commentaries on the Vedic ones. This parallelism has, however, a counterpart in the diversity of references, both Vedic and Puranic, in regard to Agni and Karttikeya, as we have seen. But, such divergencies are to be found in the seed in the Vedic sources themselves. Agni was associated not only with Svaha but also with the Krttikas: he was identified with Rudra who, in turn, got equated to Siva: Agni's consorts were seven and so were the Krttikas who, however, were the wives of the seven rshis: the Krttikas were also six. The absence of specific mention of Karttikeya in early Vedic literature may be due to circumstances of which we have no knowledge: it cannot be a bar to his being treated as a god of the Vedic age.[15]

12 *Satapatha-Brahmana*, 2.1.2.4.5.

13 *Taittiriya-Aranyaka*,10.1.27.

14 In *Rg-Veda*, 8.96.1.2. B. G. Tilak sees such an allusion : see his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1925) 318. 'The story of restoring Visnapu to Visvaka (*Rg-Veda*) 1.117.7. and of giving milk to Sayu's cow probably refer to the same phenomenon of bringing back the morning son to the parents, and from this it is but a small step to the story of Kumara (*lit.* a child), one of the names of Karttikeya in the Puranas. It was this Kumara, or the once hidden (*guha*) or dropped (*Skanda*) Child, rising along with the seven mothers or rivers (*Rg-Veda*, 8.96.1) in the morning, that led the army of gods or light and walked victoriously along the devayana path.'
He follows Narayana-Aiyangar, *Indo-Aryan Mythology*, 2.57.80.

15 If the Epic of Gilagamesh, which we have only in a version of the time of Assurbanipal (the middle of the 7th cent. B. C.) could be used without anachronism to elucidate the Early Dynastic seals of Babylon (circa 2100 B. C.) in the conviction that the Epic certainly goes back to the third millennium B.C.; as is held by Frankfort, 63, and other high authorities, we cannot decline to rely on Puranic data, when they are in conformity with Vedic data, to elucidate facts of Vedic times. To fail to do so, will be to decline to give due weight to the fragmentary character of much of both the Vedic and the Puranic literatures and the continuity of traditional lore,

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That the suppliant figure in our scenes is Karttikeya may not be doubted on the mere grounds that in these scenes he is not shown with either his six heads or with his traditional *vahana*, the peacock. It is only in the form of Shanmukha (the six-headed) that Karttikeya has a multiplicity of heads: even down to modern times the conograpic practice is to figure Karttikeya with only one head in his form of Shanmukha, even except where the sexicephalic form is specially fancied. No rule prescribes that a god should be invariably shown with his attendant: in the very scenes which we are studying neither Agni nor the deity of the tree has attendants by the side.

We have no reason to look for foreign affiliations.[1] We do not know of Tammuz having characteristics similar to those of either Karttikeya or Agni. Karttikeya had six heads, but he did not turn himself into a six-headed goat: our group of six is the Pleiades and not Ursa Major of west Asian mythology. The Krttikas, six or seven, were women who were not thought of also as goats, while the heptad composed of Anshar and his six companions were males and goats. There can be no doubt but that there are goats and goats.

VII. THE GOD IN THE TREE

Why should Karttikeya, the pre-ordained Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the gods, kneel abjectly as a suppliant before a god in a tree ? That god must have been a great puissant one for him to have extracted obeisance from that warrior sans pareil. And why should so great a god have fancied the tree for habitat ?

An interpretation of the scene that deserves to be noticed is one in which both head and goat will be offerings to the tree-spirit. It has been argued that though the Vedic people revered the nyagrodha tree (the banyan), even comparing it to the universe,[2] and perhaps revered the asvattha as well, they had a peculiar aversion to the nyagrodha as human sacrifices were offered to it by yeople who were not Vedic.[3] A distinction has been drawn

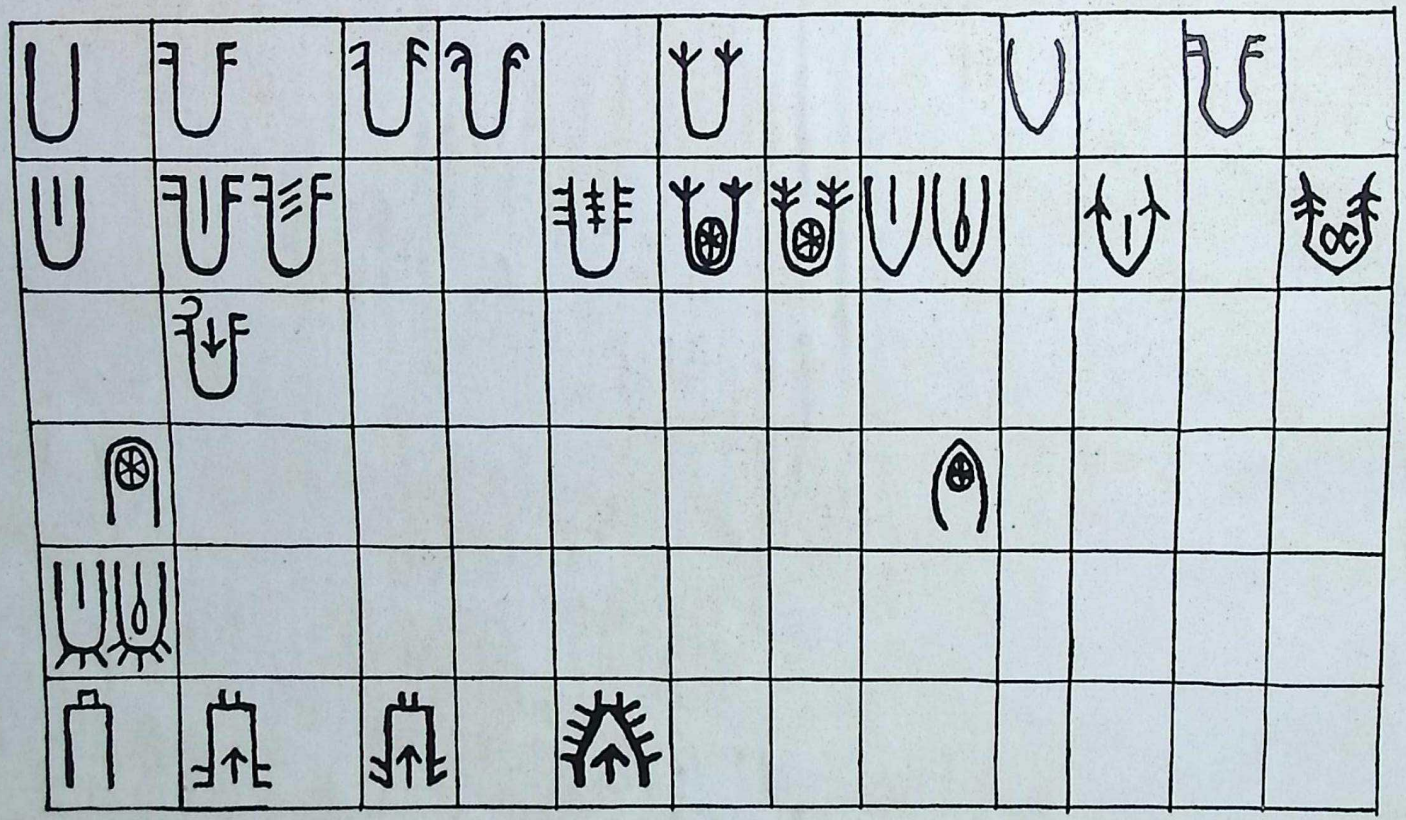
1 See Sec. IV Para 2.

2 Rg. Veda, 2.35.8; *cf.*, *Ib*, 1.24.7.

3 J. Charpentier, *JRAS.*, 1930: 335-45.

SKETCH FOR GODS OF HARAPPA

ILLUSTRATION TO SECTION VII.



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between the nyagrodha and the asvattha in the view that the latter is the Cosmic Tree.[1] Even if the asvattha be the habitat of the spirit propitiated with human sacrifices and even if the sacrifice be by one of the Vedic persuasion, it is yet impossible to understand why the Seven,—be they the Krttikas or not,—should recoil from the scene. It could be no scene of a human sacrifice.

The asvattha is the one tree which, in the Harappa culture,[2] is indisputably the habitat of a god. This home is pictured in two forms in the remains of this culture. In the one form, the tree, which is the asvattha, divides into two stems as it springs from the earth, or just a little above, much like a U—and the deity manifests itself between the stems[3] in a yoga pose[4]. In the other form, the tree takes a highly conventionalised shape :[5] it is not a tree so much as a free bough that is represented. A long bough, again of the asvattha, poised in mid air, doubles down in two deep sweeps and attempts to reach earth with two long and equal arms,—somewhat like a ∩, but as it touches earth, or is about to touch it, curls out at each tip into a curve which, though slight in one case, is none the less clear, and is pronounced in the others.[6]

This tree, springs upward from earth : it sends branches down towards earth. It is an earthly tree growing heavenward and a heavenly tree reaching earthward. The branches turn away in disdain from earth as they approach it.

Such a tree is known to nature. It is the asvattha, which rises grandly from earth and, then, from its many branches sends down numerous shoots which, however, stop short almost as they are about to touch earth.[7] Symbols more appropriate than a

1 K. Chattopadhyaya, in JRAS: 894-4.

2 For an idea of the variety of the tree pictured in the antiquities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro see, for instance, Mackay, 341.

3 These are the trees of our Scenes A, C and D.

4 Chanda, in M. *Rev.* 1932 Aug. 128.9.

5 These are the trees of our Scene E and of two other seals, Marshall, 49, 52, 12 (13, 14).

6 Chanda, in M. *Rev.*, 1932 Aug.,158.9

7 Herein it differs from the banyan-tree (ficus indica) the descending shoots of which take root in earth and become trunks in turn.

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forking tree growing upward a pair of boughs seeking earth and get turning away from it cannot be thought of asvattha.

Such a tree has also a well-recognised place in Vedic thought.[1] One text says of it : 'Its root is above, its branches below, this eternal fig-tree : that root is indeed the Pure : that is Brahman : that indeed is called the immortal : on it all the worlds rest and no one soever goes beyond it'.[2] This is put conversely in another text : 'The three quartered Brahman has its root above. The Brahman has the name of the lone fig-tree'.[3] A fuller appreciation of the significance of the tree runs thus ; 'Men call the Asvattha, which has its boughs beneath, its roots above, the ever holy tree. Yea, for its leaves are green and waving hymns which whisper Truth. Who knows it knows Vedas and all. Its branches shoot to heaven and sink, to earth, even as the deeds of men which take their birth from qualities'.[4] It is thus fit parallel to Brahman, the Absolute of Vedic belief and thought.[5]

It would have been scandalous mockery of so hoary a belief if the Buddha had attained Enlightenment under any tree other than the asvattha, which it is that is known as the Bodhi-druma, the Bo-tree.[6]

The two forms of the tree are faithfully reproduced in the Harappan seals. Not a little significant is it that in the latter of the forms the bough does not strike root in the earth at either one of the ends. The bough, or the tree which is meant, is one

1 See especially, Tilak, *Srimad Bhagavad-Gita Rahasya*, Eng. tr. (1936), 2. 1135.9

2 *Katha-Upanishad* 6. 1.

3 *Maitri-Upanishad* 6.4.

4 *Bhagavad-Gita* 15. See also *Agni Purana*.

5. Keith; 526-7. So it is that it has been said: 'The man who worships the asvattha, gorochana and the cow worships the whole universe': *Maha-Bharata*, 13 *Anu*-126, *Devarahasya*: 5.

6. See, for instance, A. de Gubernatis, *Myihaologie des plantes* (1882), 2: 21.8.

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that obviously does not spring from the earth. [1] Evidently, it is a reproduction of the tree which has its root above and its branches beneath, sinking to earth but not getting rooted in it, the asvattha. That in this form the roots are not shown may be due to the high conventionalization which transformed the tree into a bough.[2] The adoption of both the erect and the inverted forms separately in these seals and the absence of a composite form must have been due to the realization that, howsoever delineated, the tree is the asvattha. An indifference to whether the tree was pictured erect or inverted is but the next step.

The three upright trees in our seals, being the asvattha and the fourth tree being of the rare inverted type, there can be no doubt all four of them being the asvattha. The god that stands between the branching stems can, therefore, be none other than Brahman, in each of these trees.

The asvattha being also identified with Vishnu, as we have already noticed, it is not improbable that the god in the tree is Vishnu, conceived of as Brahman, or *vice versa*. This may make a difference to a sectary, but it spells none the philosopher, to whom the god in the tree is the representation of the Absolute.

1. Marshall cites, 394, as parallels a West Asian seal, W. H. Ward, *Cylinders of Western Asia*, (1910), 149-51: 399-400, which is dealt with, along with a sister seal, *Ib.*, by Frankfort, 117-8, who assigns the second to about 2500 B. C. Marshall, 64, has missed the all too obvious distinction between the tree in these and in ours. Ours shows the deity in a setting, the tree or the arbour-shrine, in which the deity stages what Marshall calls an epiphany. The West Asian seals, however, depict the destruction of a tree which, stylized into a bough, long and thin but leafy, is bent by a god over a goddess who is engaged in assisting a dead god to revive and in either pulled up by the roots or, kept bent by the god's firm foot planted on it, is cut at by the god with an axe. Further, in the West Asian seals the inverted tree is rooted at the right and is bent over to left, and even bent to touch, while the tree in our seals, grows towards earth and does not strike earth at all: in fact, it turns away from earth.

2 See Signs 149, 150-1, 227-8, 231-3a, 238, 240-8, 251, 307-9, 429, 430, in Marshall,—124-6, and in Vats,—110-1, 113, 116; Signs 86, 90 b91, in Marshall, 438; Mackay,—93 (1, 3).

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APPENDIX:—The pictographs of the Harappa culture include some that are evidently schematic representations of trees, both upright and inverted. In a few the roots are shown. An object is occasionally found pictured between the stems. Stylization has apparently been more active in the case of the inverted trees, the stems bending at stiff right angles.

How these pictographs are to be correlated to the asvattha is more than we are now able to tell. No special signficance may be attached to the parallelism of god between branches and symbol between stems, for an important feature of the pictographic system of this culture appears to be the formation of compound characters by the integration of at least two symbols.

VIII. WARRIOR BEFORE WARRIOR

Should it be Karttikeya who is to be taken as bending the knee to Brahman, it has to be shown that there was occasion for him to do so. That it is but natural that a god should pay his devotions to Brahman and that in doing so he should play the suppliant may be granted, but these take us no further towards an explanation of how a scene which must, then, have been considerd by no means unusual had come to be considered so significant as to be depicted in our seals. A special vinculum between Karttikeya and Brahman has to be found if the seals are to be explained.

Karttikeya is frequently referred to as Brahmanya[1] or Brahmanyadeva[2] and the appellations have been understood as references to his great proficiency in the knowledge of the Veda, in Brahmavidya, and, so, to his having realised Brahman.[3] But, other gods not being so called, though *prima facie* they too should have realised Brahman, it has to be inferred that there was yet

1 *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana-*: *Markandeya-*, 232 *Karttikeya-Stava-*, 11; *Ib.*, 9 *Salya-*: *Gadayuddha-*, 46 *Taraka-Vadha-*, 52.

2 See, for instance, the legends on issues of the coins of the Yaudheyas of the eastern Punjab, issued about 150-200 A. D.
(a) *Bhagavato Swamino Brahmanyasya-devasya Kumarasya*
(b) *Bhagavata svamino Brahmanyasya*
J. Allan, *BMCIC: Ancient India*, (1936), 149-50. See also the reference in an inscription of Kumaragupta, dated about 415-6 A.D., to a temple at Bhilsad, as '*Brahmanya devasya.....svami Mahosenasya ayatana.....*': J. F. Fleet, *CII. Gupta Inscriptions*. (1888), No. 10 (7-8): 42-5

3. See *Maha-Bharata*, 9 *Salya-*: *Gada-*, 45 *Skandabhisheka-*, wherein Brahman presents Karttikeya with the skin of a black deer.

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another but an intimate, connection between Karttikeya and Brahman. What that connection may be is not however immediately apparent.

Two features in the play are quite unexpected. The Krttikas set their faces against the head on stand. They seem to turn away bodily not only from Blood and Brahman but also from their own Boy. They would even appear to have grown so indignant that turning right about, they are marching away from the scene. Agni, as goat, has not only retired virtually into the background to give ample space to Karttikeya and to the head, but has also retracted somewhat on his haunches, and stands as if he were a little dazed. But, to interpret these features as indicative of revulsion at the character of the offering is to assume that they had been brought there on promises, or in expectations, of a pleasant play and that it was only on the hero planting a tragic token in the middle of the stage they enacted the walk-out. They could not have come, for *instance*, to a sacrifce in which they knew that the offering was to be a human head and then veered round on the head being placed on the altar.[1]

A link of a martial character it is that is suggested by the severed human head in the space between the two gods in our seals and by the attitudes of Agni and the Krttikas. If the head has been brought in by Karttikeya, as token to Brahman of his prowess, or as testimony to his devotion to Brahman, we get no light on how of all possible objects he has chosen a gory head as appropriate to a god whom we do not now associate with battle or blood. Brahman might turn out, as he does presently, to have been a god who was not averse to battle and might not, therefore, find the head an unacceptable offering, but, then, why should Agni and the Krttikas, having come along with Karttikeya and the head to witness the presentation of the offering, blench and recoil when the head was placed on the pedestal? We have no references in the ancient works to Karttikeya having offered a sacrifice or made obeisance to Brahman,—much less in a context that suggests battle. Such references as have survived to his

1. *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana-*: *Markandeya-*, 229 *Skandopakhyana-*, 52.

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willingness to own allegiance to a superior are the two visits he paid to Siva,—one, at Brahman's instance, as a sequel to which he was appointed General of the seventh division of the forces of the gods, and another made on the victorious conclusion of the military operations against the enemies of the gods.[1] Were the oflering other than a head, or similar mark of antagonism or struggle,—were it, for instance, a flower or a fruit, a pot or a purse,—the scene would suggest nothing martial and there would be little reason to expect Karttikeya to be cast for a role in our play. Were the head in the seal that of a *mahisha* (buffalo) we could essay the suggestion that it is the head of Mahisha, the Danava enemy of the gods, whom Karttikeya slew in a mighty battle.[2] The other outstanding enemy of the gods whom Karttikeya vanquished is Taraka the Daitya[3] and it may be that the convention of those days permitted of the demon's head being represented by a plain human head, but we cannot account for that head being presented as a trophy before Brahman, instead of before Siva.

The play which we find represented in the scenes must, therefore be one different from what, on first impression, we would be taking it for. We have to efface the first impression. We have to dissociate the head from Karttikeya. That god can be no suppliant placing a bleeding head before his blood-thirsty god and with out-stretched arms preferring a supplication that the head and the blood may be accepted: he can be only a suppliant bending the knee to a superior power and putting up his arms in frank avowal of that god's superiority as testified to by the head and earnest solcitation of that god's favours.

The only other character in the play to whom the head could be related is Brahman, not only because it is at his feet that the object is placed but also because Agni, the goat, has stationed

1. *Maha-Bharata*, 3 *Vana-*: *Markandeya-*, 231 *Skandayuddha.*
2. *Maha-Bharata*, 9 *Salya-*: *Gada-*, 48 *Tarakat-Vadha-*: 72.
3. Human sacrifices may have had a vogue at Harappa: Marshall, 52, 81; Mackay, 648; Vats, 62. Perhaps also in Vedic culture: for instance, Keith, 262-4, 347-8.

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himself apart and the Karttikas are rudely manifesting their dissociation. And it is to Brahman that the suppliant god holds forth his hands. But, Brahman's record is not known to be martial.

Yet, and all too unknown though it be, Brahman had been a puissant warrior and had won what is perhaps the greatest of the victories known to the Puranas.

This is how one of the most significant of the ancient writings, the *Kena Upanishad*, narrates the rare tale:

Brahman obtained the victory for the Devas. The Devas became elated by the victory of Brahman, and they thought, this victory is ours only, this greatness is ours only. 3.1

Brahman perceived this and appeared to them. But they did not know it and said: 'What sprite (yaksha or yakshya) is this?' 3.2

They said to Agni: 'O Jatavedas, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes', he said. He ran toward it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you.?' He replied: 'I am Agni, I am Jatavedas.' Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Agni replied: 'I could burn all whatever there is in earth.' Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Burn this.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not burn it.' Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.' 3.3-6

Then they said to Vayu: 'O Vayu, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes', he said. He ran towards it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'I am Vayu, I am Matarisvan.' Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Vayu replied: 'I could take up all whatever there is on earth.' Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Take it up.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not take it up. Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.' 3. 7-10

Then they said to Indra: 'O Maghavan, find out what sprite this is.' He went towards it, but it disappeared from before him. 3. 11

Then in the same space he (Indra) came towards a woman highly adorned: It was Uma, the daughter of Himavat. He said to her: 'Who is that sprite?' 3. 12

She replied: 'It is Brahman. *It is through the victory of Brahman that you have thus become great.*' After that he knew it was Brahman. 4. 1

Therefore these Devas, viz., Agni, Vayu and Indra are, as it were, above the other gods, for they touched it (the Brahman) nearest. And therefore Indra is, as it were, above the other gods, for he touched it nearest, he first knew it. 4. 2, 3.

This is the the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the gods (mythological): It is that which now flashes forth in the lightning, and now vanishes again. And this is the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the body (psychological): It is that which seems to move as mind, and by it imagination remembers again and again. That Brahman is called Tadvana, by the name of Tadvana it is to be meditated in. All beings have a desire for him who knows this, 4. 4-6.

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Not a little surprising is that Brahman is here alluded to as a great warrior,—rather, as the warrior sans pareil who won the unhoped for victory for the gods. But, even more surprising it is that this is the momentous victory which in the Puranas is unanimously and unambiguously attributed to Karttikeya. This *Upanishad* strips Karttikeya of his title to fame and importance and invests Brahman with the resplendence of the might and the fame that are justly due to him as the hero who could rid the gods of the fear of the demons.

The Puranas speak of Karttikeya in two voices. Sometimes he is spoken of only as a minor hero, as where he is said to have declined the Indraship, albeit it was pressed on him by Indra himself, the veiled hint being that Karttikeya felt himself unequal to the responsibilities of the post, and that he was appointed General of the seventh division alone. Sometimes he is lauded as the hero who defeated Indra himself and whom Indra made Generalissimo of all created beings, ordering the kings of the hosts of the gods to wait on him and to consecrate him and to present him with thousands of companions devoted to ascetic practices.[10] Evidently, tales were current which exalted Karttikeya and Indra, each at the expense of the other. But, the tales exalting Karttikeya could not have come into current acceptance before Brahman, whose headship of the forces of the gods is spoken to by the *Kena-Upanishad*, had been relegated to the background. Obviously, Indra had proved inadequate to the crisis forced on the gods by their enemies, and Karttikeya as too young, or too inexperienced, to be entrusted with the direction of all the armies of the gods : so, Brahman, who must then have had a reputation as warrior, was put in command of all the forces and Karttikeya was put in sub-command of only the seventh division. The battle was won and gods were saved, and Brahman and Karttikeya emerged with great glory. The mutations of time, however, have exalted Karttikeya and humbled Brahman. When Karttikeya's star came into the horizon, Brahman's had reached the zenith and Indra's was vanishing, but as Karttikeya's star ascended higher still Brahman's star declined and vanished, following Indra's. But, at the time of our seal Brahman's star was

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in the ascedant and it is of this stage in Brahman's career that the *Kena-Upanishad* speaks.

The head in our play must, then, be a sign placed by Brahman in token of the great victory he had won and of the play being the sequel to the victory.

Brahman, having won the victory, might have summoned the greatest of his lieutenants, the General of the seventh division, to a special Court held for marking his appreciation of that general's noble share in the struggle, and might have manifested himself in all his glory to that doughty lieutenant, and, incidentally, to his parents who must have accompanied him. While the radiance of the effulgent presence was so strong that the Krttikas blenched and turned bodily away from the flash and that Agni, effulgent though he himself is, got half blinded and drew himself back on his haunches, Karttikeya enjoyed the presence and realised Brahman.

But, the *Kena-Upanishad* tells of Indra,—not Karttikeya,—being the god who realised Brahman as a sequel to the defeat of the demons and the exaltation of the gods.

Appendix :—The tale of how Agni changed into Kumara and then into Skanda is as interesting as how Indra changed into Karttikeya and then into Skanda. Agni and Indra thus fused into Skanda changed into Brahman and became Su-Brahmanya. Kumara-Subrahmanya has become well established as Brahman. Agni and Indra has each had his revenge, thus, on Brahman for having usurped the headship of the gods to which each of the two had been justly entitled.

IX. WARRIOR-PRECEPTOR AND WARRIOR-PUPIL

The essence of the story in the *Kena-Upanishad* is Brahman's bringing the gods to acknowledge his primacy. This supremacy being one over the gods, and; therefore, one in the spirit, the relationship between Brahman and the gods could be none but that of Deity and Devotees, or that of preceptor and Pupils. A victory of one of them over the others could be only one in the spirit, thongh expressed as one in physical conflict. It is of a manifestation of a Presence and of a Revelation of a Doctrine by a Preceptor to the Pupils that the story tells, half by narration and half by suggestion. Starting with an allusion to notable martial event, it quickly passes on the tell of the aftermath of the event, the greatly

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risen arrogance of the gods,—and proceeds to suggest how Brahman subtly put them in their place, without a struggle,—without even ruffled feelings. Suggesting also how he took the form of a Yaksha and persuaded each of them that all too unthinkingly a Yaksha was inviting them to have an easy jest at his expense, it tells of Agni and Vayu walking in confidently and retreating crestfallen,—all over a tiny trifle. It tells also of Indra, then the mightiest of the gods, walking in and finding worse luck, for he could find neither trifle nor Yaksha, and it suggests how the jest had been, from the beginning, not over the tiny trifle but over the great problem of the nature of Brahman himself. That Indra is marked out for his especial discomfiture shows that he was the foremost among Brahman's rivals. The jest having been put on them, the story suggests that they had to be helped by Uma-Haimavati to the unriddling of the problem and it tells how she announced that the Yaksha was none other than Brahman. And, then, it suggests that Brahman appeared to them and taught them his Doctrine and it tells what that teaching was.

The story in the *Kena-Upanishad* is, therefore, none of war or battle : it is an account, partly explicit and partly implicit, of a Manifestation and of a Revelation. If the play in our seals is a pictorial rendering of this story, then, the suppliant is the god for whom the epiphany was enacted and to whom the Doctrine was vouchsafed, and, very naturally, neither god in tree nor suppliant wears war-like tokens. And as 'Brahman is that which now flashes forth in the lightning', though 'it now vanishes again', as the Doctrine has it, there need be no wondering at such minor deities as the Krttikas having been unable to stand the flash without flinching.

But, again, Karttikeya is not one of the gods whom the story names. And, Agni is one of the gods who, in the story, retires discomfited, while, in the play in our seals, he stands his ground pugnaciously and proudly, though dazed by the splendour of the Manifestation. These are discrepancies which, if not explained, are serious enough to invalidate the attempt to elucidate the play in the light of the story.

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The purpose of the story being an affirmation of the supremacy of Brahman, the story as narrated is accepted generally without cavil or question, and it has not been asked why Indra, Agni and Vayu should have been chosen for being jested with, instead of Soma or Surya, Varuna or Vishnu, Rudra or Yama. Even if Indra be essential to the story as prime victim, so that Brahman may be shown getting the better of the chief of the gods, there is no reason why Karttikeya could not have been named in place of Agni and Vayu. It being immaterial to the purpose of the story who was put to discomfiture, no speacial significance need be attached to Agni and Vayu having been chosen for mention and to Karttikeya not having been thought of. It may even be that there were other ancient works in which the same story was told,—not with Indra, Vayu and Agni in the cast,—but with another group of characters among whom Karttikeya was one, and it may be that those works are now lost to us. This is a probability which will not fail to commend itself to acceptance by those who realise how extensive the Vedic, the Puranic and other contemporary literatures were and how small a fraction of them all has survived to these days.

A truer explanation, however, is that Karttikeya is a form of Indra. In the unfortunately fragmentary condition of Vedic and Puranic literatures, this equation has to be pieced together out of hints and allusions.

The *Subrahmanyam* litany, referred to in some of the Vedic works, [1] invoked a god, Subrahmanya (Su-Brahmanya), and mentions Indra as the god of the sacrifice, and, so, suggests the identity of Subrahmanya and Indra. Sayana, accepts the identity.[2] Subrahmanya is now identified with Karttikeya, and this is not unexpected, for we have already seen that Karttikeya is known as Brahmanya and Brahmanyadeva.

While, in the *Kena-Upanishad* story, Indra is said to have been the first to know Brahman, the credit is given in other authorities to another personage, Sanat-kumara. It is said that Sanatkumara was the first of sages to ask for the exposition of the

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truth of the Supreme Being, that he was taught it by Samkarshana (a form of Vishnu) and that from him the teaching descended through a line of disciples,[3] even before the egg-birth of Brahman,[4] He is said to be son of Brahman, seer of Para-Brahman and exponent of the nature of the 'Soul'.[5] He is also said to be one of the forms which the Supreme Being (Vishnu) took, on account of Brahman's austerities, and in which the truth of the 'Soul', which had been lost at the close of the preceding kalpa, was taught.[6] In these various allusions we find Sanatkumara being held out as son of Brahman, first seeker, first pupil and first knower and preceptor. Here, he is a parallel to Indra, the first to know Brahman. This parallelism turns to identity when we find an ancient authority saying that Sanatkumara is Skanda[7] and a great scholiast, Sankara, stating that Sanatkumara was born as Skanda in consequence of a boon to Rudra.[8]

Just a touch or two more and the picture is complete. Sanatkumara is Pradyumna, who is Kama,[9] who is Smara. As Sanatkumara ('Ever-Youth') he is tender, and as Kama (Cupid) he is tender, young and beautiful. This is none other than the Skanda-Subrahmanya of the Tamil country known as Muruhan, who owes his name to his *muruhu*, his 'tenderness, youth, beauty' (the word *muruhu* having affiliations with 'Smara')

Here is a god known variously as Karttikeya, Kumara, Sanatkumara, Skanda, Shanmukha, Subrahmanya, Guha and Muruhan, who is also identifiable with Indra. So, Indra, leader of the gods, who in the *Kena-Upanishad* is said to have been taught Brahman by Brahman himself, is our Karttikeya, leader of the forces of the gods, who in our play is granted a Manifestation and a Revelation by Brahman.

Appendix 1 :—That Subrahmanya appears to be a comparatively recent personage need be no impediment to the antiquity of the idea of Karttikeya-Subrahmanya, for Su-Brahmanya is early enough if the equation Subrahmanya-Skanda-Indra is tenable. Further, it may not be forgotten that material objects testifying to the various god-forms with which we are concerned do not go earlier than the 3rd century B. C., if we exclude the relics from the Harappan culture. Vrshabha-vahana is not met with in graphic representations earlier than in the coins of the Indo Greeks. Lakulisa's prototype, Maha-Yogi, is not earlier than the coinage of Huvishka.[10] The earliest known Dakshinamurti is

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in the late Gupta temple at Deogarh. No Nataraja is known before the 7th century A. D. He who twenty years back ventured to assume that these could be earlier than the 3rd century B. C., would have been laughed at. And yet, at least a millennium and a half earlier, by any count, we have them all in the Harappa culture as gods so ancient that they had, in the course of evolution, got integrated into Pasupati.

Appendix 2 :—Skanda as Preceptor assumes a very interesting local role at Madurai in the Tamil country, well-known as an ancient city and capital of the Pandyas.[11]

X. THE PANTHEON AND THE PHILOSOPHY.

The sculpture in the round of the god, or the gods,—one or many headed, and two or four armed,—which could be disrupted again and again and could, at fancy's bidding, be assembled differently now and again into various characters with varying attitudes, poses and expressions so as to present varying manifestations are naturally, symbols of notions which are far beyond those which we associate with pretty pieces on the mantel, toys, mascots, fetishes and marionettes. They are images *through* which the gods were worshipped in their infinite variety.

The pieces we know of, being small, were in all probability intended for domestic worship. The high formalism which they exhibit makes it almost indisputable that they were the foci of a well-developed ritualism and that, therefore, they were kept in apartments in private houses which were set apart distinctly as domestic shrines. But, whether shrines, or aggregates of shrines, in which a larger unit than the family could congregate and partake in the ritual were known to Harappa is more than we way now venture an opinion on.

That a few symbols, a host of godlings, a number of plebeian gods and more than one high god were native to the religion of Harappa has been recognised. The high gods have, however, turned out to be greater in number.

A wicket in the great doors of the Pantheon opened about twenty years back and, a few rays of light breaking in, a motely group was found in possession. Tree-spirits were fluttering about; animal-gods were slinking along; water-divinities were flopping about. Lingas and baetyls stood prominently in niches. The

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Great Mother was comfortable on a firm pedestal. A four-armed god was keeping to the dim interior. As the light grew stronger, it was found that Nataraja was dancing with infinite grace and that Pasupati, unperturbed by his neighbours, was expounding the mysteries. Behind Pasupati was a group of four gods whose identity could be determined but whose charms could not be felt because of the glamour of the presence of Pasupati and Nataraja.

The great door itself in which was the wicket has now opened and much of light has streamed in. Agni and Krttikeya are found to be among the high gods and the Karttikas among the plebeian ones. Behind Karttikeya stands Indra in the shade, a high god declining into a plebeian one. But these godlings and gods gather round Brahman, realise his Presence and acclaim him their Preceptor, and he manifests himself as the Absolute.

The other great door has yet to open and let in more light. We may not doubt that when the full light illumines the whole of the Pantheon we shall find in it many more of gods, high and low, and many manifestation of the Absolute.

Those whom we have so far found in the Harappan Pantheon form a group as great as distinctive. Brahman is the greatest of the gods of the Pantheon to whom the knee is bent by those gods who are next in rank, Agni, Pasupati, Nataraja and Karttikeya. On a par with them are Dakshinamurti, Mahayogi, Mahesa and Vrshabhavahana, but they are so intimately united into Pasupati that they may not easily be discerned individually. The Great Mother and the Krttikas are there, wondering if they are not after all Seven-in-one and One-in-Seven. The lingas. the baetyls, the tree-spirits, the animal-gods and the water-spirits who also are found in the Pantheon are not distinctive and they are not in close harmony with our godlings and gods; though they have yielded ground to the gods and godings, they are still confident that they will always have elbow-room; however crowded the Pantheon may become or gigentic a few of its denizens may grow into.

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The faith, or the faiths, that these occupants and inhabitants of the Pantheon testify to are not difficult to discern.

The symbols and the spirits which are not distinctive of his culture; are in all probability, the deities of a much earlier age when man, whichever quarter of the globe he occupied or whatever mental twists he had acquired, looked at stones, trees and animals and, finding himself unable to account for the numerous and complex impressions he was receiving from them, indulged in exuberant fancies about them and, then, finding it necessary to condense those fancies into tabloid statements, invented symbols and spirits, and peopled creation with supernatural powers and beings. They are age-old survivals in this culture.

The Krttikas, reminding us of the Sapta-Rshis, are also survivals of that same age, when the stars in the heavens spoke to man as mysteriously as stones and trees. So too is the Great Mother.

But, from such unpromising material had been evoked finer fancies and grander ideas. From the trees had been chosen two the Nyagrodha and the Asvattha ; the Nyagrodha had been transmuted into the Cosmic tree and the Asvattha had been transformed into the Tree of knowledge.[1] From among the godlings had been chosen Nataraja and he had been made into the dynamic symbol of the Cosmic Dance. So distinctive is the symbol of the Cosmic Dance that it is among the finest products of this culture.

Pasupati has more roles than one; as Mahayogi he is Power-Realised, as Mahesa he is Presence, as Dakshinamurti he is Preceptor and as Vrshabha-Vahana he is Lord of Souls.

It is Brahman, however, that is the finest fruit of this culture. As has been well said, 'the idea of Brahman, when judged from the view-point of intellect, is an abstraction, but it is concretely real for those who had the direct vision to see it'.[2] That the idea was indeed 'concretely real' to the seers of Harappa is put beyond a doubt by the figure of Brahman in the Asvattha. Theirs was no purposeless philosophy with a bloodless and inactive Absolute. So real was their Absolute that it was at pains not only to reveal itself

1. This distinction is fairly clear, notwithstanding that sometimes it might have been slurred over.
2. Rabindranath-Tagore, in S. Radhakrishnan, *Philosophy of Upanishads*, (1924), Intr. 11.

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to those who, like Indra-Karttikeya, sought it but also to teach them what it is. The Absolute of the Harappa seer was not only Presence but also Preceptor.

Nothing is more obvious than that Yoga was one of the paths along which this Absolute was sought. Not by any means so clear is what other paths these seers had gone along in quest of the Absolute. That a belief in the Saktism might have formed one of the features of this culture has been suspected.[1] This is not unlikely. The Absolute of the Asvattha was no pacifist; he had placed a gory head as a trophy before so young a warrior as Karttikeya,—so Sakti, the Absolute of the Saktas.

Along with the belief that the way to the Absolute was through Yoga the Harrapans appear aiso to have believed in what we call the doctrine of Special Grace. In the *Kena-Upnishad* it is Uma-Harinavati that reveals the significance of the sprite to Indra. In Harappa the Krttikas played Uma-Harinavati's role : they brought Karttikeya-Indra to the Asvattha and revealed to him the Brahman in the tree. The Agni had also been a companion along the route and that he and the Krttikas had been overwhelmed by the splendour of Brahma's manifestation are no inpediments to the validity of his suggestion : Karttikeya-Indra was of nobler stuff and hence it was that he developed into Su-Brahmanya, the great Preceptor.

We may not now doubt that the seers of Harappa had journeyed long, determinedly and adventurously; along more paths than one in pursuit of the Absolute and that certainly, along one of them, and that, perhaps, along another, and that, probably, along others too, they had reached their journey's end and realised the Absolute.

APPENDIX : The inverted tree which encloses the Harappan god looks very much iike the 'Prabha' which, for instance, the South Indian image-maker provides as a frame for the image he makes; even the Asvattha leaves springing from nodes which occur somewhat apart in the Asvattha bough are stimulated in the three-pronged flames which intermittently break out along the margin of the thin and sinuous Prabha. That sculptural and psychological consideration do require the employment of the Prabha to frame in idols does not explain why the frame should be of the Asvattha type.

1. Marshall, 57.

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XI. THE CULTURE AND ITS PHASE.

The presence in the Harappan Pantheon of gods so obviously Vedic as Brahman, Agni and Karttikeya (with Indra in the penumbra) excludes all possibility of difference over the identity of the most significant element in this culture and establishes that that element is the Vedic.[1]

That the Harappa culture is different from the Vedic and that it is Dravidian has been maintained so authoritatively and so insistently that it has come to be accepted. The theory having been set out in a manner that leaves gaps in the line of reasoning it is difficult to summarise it cogently. Briefly, the theory runs thus. Harappa knows of a composite god who is at once Pasupati, Mahesa, Dakshinamurti and Maha-Yogi, and is therefore, Siva. Pasupati is known to the *Rg-Veda* and he has affinitics with Rudra, who has suffered merger with Siva, the Dravidian god, both being Personalities who have malignant characteristics. Mahesa, Dakshinamurti and Maha-Yogi are not, however, so early for evidences of them are comparatively recent. Yoga is pre-Vedic and Siva is Maha-Tapah and Maha-Yogi. The Great Mother, the Linga and water-spirits and tree-spirits are also known at Harappa and these are non-Vedic.[2] Here is much that is debatable, but one circumstance stands out indisputable: We have no knowledge of what Dravidian culture was like in Harappan times. What is more, no consistant theory is deducible from the facts and considerations thus set out above.

Mahesa, Dakshinamurti and Maha-Yogi, not being found early in Hindu culture, have come into it only from early Dravidian culture, if they did not come from the culture of the Veda. But we have no reason whatever to assume their presence in Dravidian cul-

1 This was foreshadowed by me in my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture*, (1942), 61, being N. I. *Antiq*, (1942) 375. If Vach represents Special Grace in *Rg-Veda*, 10, 125, as pointed out, for instance, by E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, (1895), 143, who says, 'This is almost Vedantic pantheism with the Vishnuite doctrine of "special grace" included', it may be claimed that even a special development of Vedic culture is not absent in the culture ot Harappa, for in it we find the Krttikas, women, presenting Karttikeya to Brahman to receive the revelation.

2 Marshall, 53-62.

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ture in Harappan time. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see that if these gods are not to be found in the *Rg-Veda*, they are likely to be developments of features found in the culture represented by that collection. The monotheism of the *Rg-Veda* faint and flickering though it may appear to some, might have grown in vigour and given birth to Mahesa, the counter part in theology to the Brahman of philosophy. If Yoga is not a spiritual exercise known to the *Rg-Veda*, it is not to be brushed aside as non-Vedic,[1] for a collection that concentrated on the soma ritual need not have rferred to Yoga. The Yogi, being, in all probability, one who led a religious life much in the manner of the Muni and the Tapasvin of the *Rg-Veda*, may not be easily declared to be outside the pale of Vedic culture. Maha Yogi need not, therefore, be un-Vedic. Dakshinamurti does not appear as such in the *Rg-Veda*, but he has a counterpart in a god such as Dadhyanch who, as preceptor of the Asvins, initiates them into the mysteries.[2] Thus, it is much safer to conclude that these components of the Pasupati of Harappa are developments of features of the culture of the *Reg-Veda* itself than to derive them from a culture for the content of which we have no evidence of at least equal antiquity.

Strangely enough, the implications of the admission that Pasupati is Vedic were overlooked in the process of postulating a non-Vedic origin for the Harappan god of whom he is one component.[3] Pasupati could not have entered the Harappan culture and got integrated with the other gods had not the vedic and the Harappan cultures been in contact at Harappa, but the theory has it that Vedic culture arrived in India when the Harappan was on its last legs. The theory of integration of gods from the Vedic and the Dravidian cultures to produce the Harappan god has to be rejected unless Vedic culture is allowed an antiquity at least as great as that of Harappa.

The Pasupati of Harappa is not only Pasupati in the *Rg-Veda*, but is also Gopati,—Indra.[4] Gopati, as a name,

1 As for instance, by Marshall, 53-4
2 *Rg Veda*, 1. 119, 9.
3 Marshall, 54-60.
4 *Rg-Veda*, 1, 101. 4, 3. 30. 21, 4. 24. 1, 4. 30. 22, 6. 45. 21, 7. 18. 4, 7. 98. 6, 8. 62. 7, 8. 69, 4, for instance.

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signifies exactly what Pasupati does and as an idea, has all the manifold forms which Pasupati has. Indra's supremacy being subverted by Vishnu, a prominent Vedic god, and the rites to Indra being usurped by him, Vishnu is Gopati, or Gopala, even if in his own right he is not entitled to be such. Vishnu too has the character of a Yogi. He too has four heads in manifestations such as Vaikunthanath, Visvarupa and Trailokya-Mohana.[1] He is preceptor too, at least because he is Sanat-Kumara and Gita-Acharya He too is Lord of Souls. He is thus a paralled to Siva. If only it had been recognised that Rudra-Pasupati and Indra-Gopati are parallel personalities in even the *Rg-Veda*,—a common idea seen in two differing forms,—the composite god of Harappa would have been identified not only with Pasupati but also with Gopati and he would have been accepted as Vishnu as readily as he was recognised to be Siva. Vishnu not being claimed to be a Dravidian god; the Harappan culture could not be pronounced Dravidian. On the other hand, the only culture in which Gopati-Indra-Vishnu and Pasupati-Rudra-Siva could have co-existed, as they do at Harappa, is the Vedic.

This conclusion may be impeached only on a theory such as that Pasupati and his companions were all Dravidian and pre-Vedic and that at Harappa they erupted into Vedic culture. But this theory has two hurdles to jump. Pasupati-Siva entering vedic culture is confronted all too brazenly by Pasupati-Rudra, native to that culture, who is an exact counterpart, and; what is worse; by Gopati-vishnu, yet another counterpart in that culture who is equally exact. And, the companions of Pasupati-Siva,—Mahesa. Dakshinamurti and Maha-Yogi disappear in that culture, leaving but a trace, if at all, and for no cause at all, and yet, about two thousand years later they in classical Hinduism apper as a goodly group in the amiable company of a corresponding group integrated into Vishnu! This is a theory too desperate to be even toyed with.

It may be that we may not be sure that the Great Mother is Aditi and it may be that the Linga is not remembered as Dyava-Prithvi, or a variant, in the *Rg-Veda*, but no inference is permissible that the Great Mother and the Linga do not pertain to vedic

1 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, (1914), 1. 1. 25

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for the hymns of that Veda having been composed with a view to the sacrificial ritual, especially that of the Soma offering,[1] it is as proper to look into them for the Linga and the Great Mother as to look into a treatise on Metallurgy for the laws of Cricket or for a description of the Cow. They might even have been survivals in Vedic times and yet irrelevant to the Veda and, so, gone unmentioned in it.

The presence in one culture of spirits, of trees, animals and water and of symbols like baetyls and their absence in another need not point to a fundamental distinction between the two.[2] Their presence in the one culture need only show that the great stock of fancies, faiths and formalisations which man had worked out and piled up in the antecedent ages of his cultural development had survived into and persisted in that culture, and their absence in the other culture, need only suggest that, that culture had jettisoned some of that stock in the course of its subsequent voyage down time and across space. If the Vedic culture does not embody the spirits and the symbols of the Harappa culture it is not because Vedic culture had not in the dim past risen from, or passed through, a stage when spirits and symbols were rife but because its literature being limited to the serving of the soma ritual it had no occasion to travel beyond and to allude to what was not comprehended in that ritual.

The many-headed and the many-handed gods of Harappa have their counter-parts in Vedic culture. Agni and Visvarupa have each three heads and they each emit seven rays[3]. Agni is four-yed[4]. Prajapati has five mouths[5]. Brhaspati has seven mouths and he emits seven rays.[6] Visvakarma has faces, eyes, arms and feet everywhere.[7] Agni, Soma and Indra-Vayu have innumerable

1 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (1897), 4.
2 Marshall, 54-60.
3 *Rg-Veda*, 1. 146. 1, 10. 81. 3, 10. 99. 6, See also 3. 20. 2.
4 *Rg-Veda*, 1. 31. 13.
5 *Sankhyayana-Aranyaka*, 4. 9.
6 *Rg-Veda*, 4. 50. 4, he is golden-hued and blue-backed, *Ib.* 5. 43. 12.
7 *Rg-Veda*, 10. 81. 3.
8 *Rg-Veda*, 1. 79, 12, 9. 26. 5, 9. 60. 1, 1. 23. 3.

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eyes.[8] Indra is many organed[1]. Surya is five-footed, twelve formed.[2] The Visvedevas are three-breasted, three-uddered.[3] With an equine head it is that Dadhyanch teaches the Asvins.[4] Obviously, the psychologies of the two cultures worked alike in the fashioning of their gods.

Whether the images of the gods of Harappa,—as distinguished from the gods,—had replicas in Vedic culture may not be decided only on a consideration of questions such as whether it is an image that is referred to in the question, 'Who will buy this my Indra?' Worship through images basing itself in Hinduism, in certain important features, on the fundamental parallelism between King and god and modelling its rituals on the practices of royal courts, reference to the mansions of Varuna and Mitra as thousand-pillared[5] must be deemed to attest not only to Varuna and Mitra having been conceived of anthropomorphically nor only to their having been honoured with the ceremony to which royal denigens of thousand-pillared mansions are accustomed but even to their own mansions having been thousand-pillared. Soma the god having a material counterpart in the Soma-creeper the honours due to the god, as to royalty, were paid to the creeper in Vedic rites.[6] Mitra and Varuna, having had no such natural counterparts on earth, could not have been recipients of the rituals due to them as occupants of thousand-pillared mansions had they not been turned into images and worshipped in great temples. If with much of probability we postulated domestic shrines and inferred temples with images in the Harappa culture

1 *Rg.-Veda*, 6. 46. 3.
2 *Rg-Veda*, 1. 164. 12.
3 *Rg-Veda*, 3. 56. 3.
4 *Rg-Veda*, 1. 119. 9.
5 Two passages are to the point :

(a) 'Sovereigns, exercising no oppression, sit down in this substantial and elegant hall (built) with a thousand columns' *Rg-Veda*, 2. 41. 5.

(b) 'What has become of those our ancient friendships ? Let us preserve them unimpaired as of old : food-bestowing Varuna, may I repair to the vast comprehensive thousand domed building'. *Rg-Veda*, 7.88. 5.

6 *Taittiriya-Samhita*, 1, 2. 7-8, 6. 1. 11-5; *Satapaha-Brahmana*, 3. 3. 3. 10-2

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it is with no less of probability that we have to infer great temples with images of regal magnificence in Vedic culture. The anthropomorphism of the Harappa culture which invests its gods with fanciful features and transforms them into icons and houses them in shrines and, perhaps, in temples, and the vogue of the cult of Rudra-Siva at Harappa are found to be not dissimilar to the anthropomorphism of the Vedic culture wherein, too, the gods were imagined with equal phantasy and were, in all probability; embodied in images and installed in temples and the pasupati-Rudra and the Gopati-Vishnu of which were parallel personalities. These emphasize the testimony given by Agni, Karttikey-Indra and Brahman. The two cultures are found to have so much in common that the onus lies heavily on those who would differentiate them.

The scene unfolded to us by the five significant seals we have studied is that of the emergence of Brahman as a god greater than Indra-Karttikeya. Here is a phase of Vedic culture in which Indra, having long ago superseded Varuna, is in turn thrown into the shade by Brahman.

This by itself is enough to date this scene,—and so these seals and, so, the Harappa culture,—as later than the perlod of the *Rg-Veda*, for it is Indra that has the primacy among the gods whom we find in that collection of hymns. A monotheism rising above the individual gods is among the characteristics of the Rg-Vedic period, but the supersession of Indra specifically and categorically and the formulation oI Brahman in the Asvattha had not happened.

Confirmation of this dating comes from three important considerations. Firstly, Karttikeya being more prominent in these scenes than Indra, we have to allow time enough for Indra to suffer a double supersession,—perhaps, initially by Karttikeya rising into importance and claiming identity with Indra and, then, by Brahman claiming supremacy over both and, indeed, over Agni, Pasupati and all the other gods. While this has happened at Harappa it has not begun in Vedic culture. Secondly, the thorough formalization of the iconography of Harappa, the long anterior development of the forms of individual gods in it like Dakshinamurti, and the

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culmination of that development in an integration of the gods and their forms in the idea and in the icon of Pasupati show that at Harappa we are neither in the infancy of anthropomorphism or icononism nor in the beginnings of philosophic speculation. But in the Vedic culture we have an anthropomorphism that is yet to gain the extreme definiteness which we find in the Harappan remains and we have a philosophy which, while it has gone far,—indeed, as far as the Visvedevas,—has not yet culminated in Brahman. Thirdly, the principal god of Harappa is a host of gods in himself; but of these Pasupati-Gopati is the only one who has a place in the *Rg-Veda*, while Mahesa, Dakshinamurti and Maha-Yogi,—and their Vaishnava counter-parts,—are yet to sprout and grow from the seeds in the hymns of that collection. The Harappan characteristics are clearly developments of features of Vedic culture. What was in germ in the Veda has found efflorescence in the sometime of Harappa.

The phase of the culture of Harappa to which these seals belong must, therefore, pertain to that phase of Vedic culture in which the *Rg-Veda* and Indra are of the past, the seeds of the tale and of the thought of the *Kena-Upanishad* have sprouted and a formal and express assumption of primacy among Vedic gods has been enacted by Brahman.

Not a little remarkable it is that the impetus to growth in this culture appears to come from itself, from the seeds which its own fruits bear; and that not the least trace is to be found of any other force inciting or influencing that growth.

Perhaps it may be said that the presence of Karttikeya-Subrahmanya, Pasupati, Maha-Yogi, Dakshinamurti and Mahesa,—when Mahesa be Siva, or Vishnu, as one may fancy,—among the gods of Harappa, of many-armed and many-headed images in its religion, of the doctrine of Special Grace in its theology and of Brahman in its philosophy, gives that culture almost all the appearance of Classical Hinduism, but it cannot be overlooked that in our seals Agni peeps through the goat and Indra is lurking behind Karttikeya. These Vedic gods may be declining, but they have not yet come so low down as the line of the western horizon. The culture is

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acquiring the features of Classical Hinduism. though the Vedic gods have not yet wholly yielded place to their descendants. In the Harappa culture we find, thus the Vedic culture engaged in transforming itself into what is perhaps one of the earliest phases of Hindu culture. Harappa culture is evidently Vedic culture starting on the trek to Classical Hinduism.

APPENDIX : The culture of the Linga cannot be understood by those who treat it as the symbol of Copulation and insist on peering into it for a sight of Concupiscence. It will be strange if some thing resembling the Linga is not an ancient symbol for the primeval instinct of human congress, with all the ideas to which that instinct gave rise. But, when the symbol reached the Vedic threshold it was appraised and accepted as the Fire-Drill, as Dyava-Prithivi, as Skambha and as Urdhva-Retas and, in course of time, as Soma-Skanda and as Sat-Chit-Ananda.

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SUMMARY

The culture of Harappa acknowledged a Pasupati and a Nataraja as high gods. Four other gods are found with Pasupati. Yoga and Saktism were also characteristic. Images had become complex and iconography had become formalised.

That Pasupati is a Vedic god has been recognised but he has been brushed aside in the belief that he and the other gods are Siva and that the other elements speak to the culture being Dravidian.

Four seals found at Mohenjo-Daro and one found at Harappa picture a significant scene. The fullest of these seals shows a god in an Asvattha tree, presenting himself to a kneeling god, a severed human head on a stand between the two, a bull-goat-man behind the suppliant, and a group of seven women in the fore-ground. In the seals which are not so full the tree is the Asvattha, but there are variations; the group is of six women in the background, or the head is indistinct, or is even absent. None the less, all these do picture one common scene.

The scene, unintelligible in terms of West Asian cultures, contemporary with the culture of Harappa, is susceptible of interpretation in the light of Vedic culture.

The bull-goat-man is Agni. The group which is both seven and six is that of the Krttikas. The suppliant, who is sponsored by both Agni and the Krttikas, is Karttikeya. The Asvattha, growing both upward and downward, its roots above and its branches below (Katha-Upanished, 6. 1), and appropriately pictured both upright and inverted in the seals, is Brahman, and the god in these is Brahman. This god, having vanquished the demons and revealed himself to Indra (Kena-Upanished, 3, 4) who is Karttikeya, the head in the scene is a trophy of Brahman's victory, and the scene is that of Brahman revealing himself to Karttikeya and instructing him in his Doctrines becomes Su-Brahmanya.

Chief among the gods of the Herappa culture are Agni, the Krttikas Karttikeya, Nataraja, Pasupati and Brahman. Pasupati- Rudra-Siva may also be Gopati Indra Vishnu. The gods behind Pasupati,—Mahesa, Maha-Yogi, Dakshinamurti and Vrshabha-Vahana,—may also be the corresponding gods behind Vishnu,—Vaikunthanatha, Yoga-Narayana, Sanat-Kumara and Gopala, Karttikeya Indra-Subrahmanya Skanda is Sanat-Kumara - Pradyumna Kama-Smaraka, and Smaraka is perhaps the Tamil Muruga. Agni, the Krttikas and Karttikeya sought Brahman and realised the Absolute. These are all Vedic gods.

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Both Harappan and Vedic gods were multi-headed and multi-armed and Vedic gods were apparently worshipped in thousand columned temples. Yoga and Saktism need be only developments of Vedic endeavours to realise the Absolute.

The culture of Harappa appears, thus, to be consistently Vedic, Harappan Siva being very much like Vishnu, and Vishnu not being Dravidian, the culture of Harappa need not be Dravidian.

The phase of the Vedic culture to which the Harappa culture pertains is one in which Indra, who had long ago supplanted Varuna, was identified with Karttikeya and was superseded by Brahman. The *Rg-Veda* and Indra have passed and the seeds of the thought and of the story of the Kena-Upanished have sprouted and a formal Brahman has come into being. Brahman has grown from Presence into Preceptor.

Here we have classical Hinduism,—the culture in which Vedic culture has a predominant place,—exceprt that Agni is still among the great gods. Harappan culture is evidently vedic culture starting on the trek to Classical Hinduism.

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VIKRAMASILA SITES

I

II

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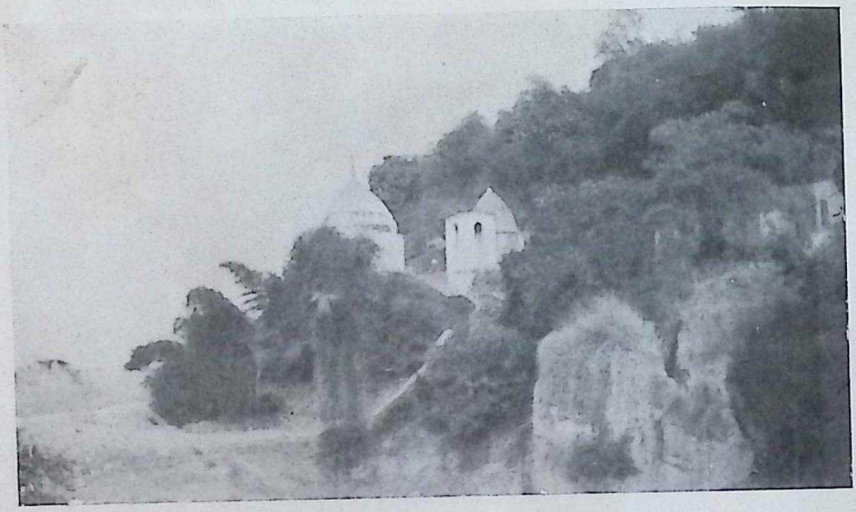
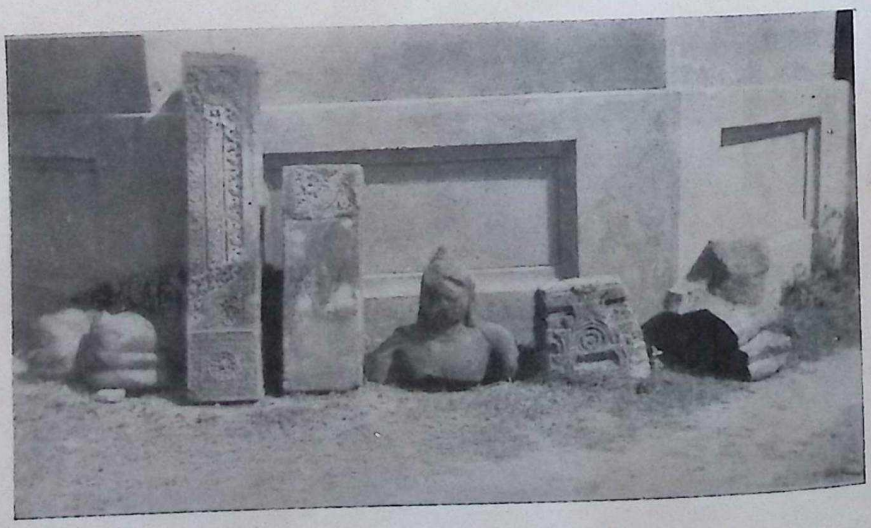
III



IV



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V

VI

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ON
THE SITE OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMASHILA

By
REV. SWAMI PRANAVANANDA, F. R. G. S.
of the Holy Kailes and Manasarovar, Almora

KAHALGAON:—About 20 miles east of Bhagalpur in Bihar is a place called Kahalgaon (कहलगाँव) (spelt Colgong in official records), situated on the right bank of the Ganges, Kahalgaon is an important trade centre for exporting agricultural produce up to Calcutta by steamer. The river flows here in a northerly direction and is sufficiently broad and deep and presents a fine spectacle. The northerly course of the river continues for adout 8 miles, a little beyond Bateshvar Mahadev. It may be noted in this connection that the northerly course of the river is considered very holy and as such the region from Kahalgeon to Bateshvar is held sacred. There are three rocky islands situated in the Ganges not far from the bank. (Illustration No. 1). One of the islands is said to be once the abode of of Kashyap Rshi. There is a temple on the top of the hillock on one of the islands.

ORIYA AND ANTICHAK:—After proceeding for about two miles down the river bank, on the right hand side is the village of Kasdi (कासडी) situated at the foot of a range of hills on the top of which is the temple of Chaurasi Muni (eighty four sages). The remains here consist of caves and rock carvings being a forty seven-foot long frieze of sculptures which may date from the 7th century A. D. These sculptures may be of the Gupta tradition. About 3-1/2 miles further down the river bank the path takes an eastward turn for about half a mile to the village Oriya (ओरियर) belonging to the Shree Bhavan Barari Estate of Babu Keshab Mohan Thakur. One mile east of this village is another village called Antichak (अंतीचक). Beginning from Oriya upto the outskirts of this village there could be seen stone remnants of Buddhistic temples or *viharas*—big and small granite pillars, votive *stupas*, varieties of Buddhistic deities like

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ON
THE SITE OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMASHILA

By
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of the Holy Kailes and Manasarovar, Almora

KAHALGAON:—About 20 miles east of Bhagalpur in Bihar is a place called Kahalgaon (कहलगाँव) (spelt Colgong in official records), situated on the right bank of the Ganges, Kahalgaon is an important trade centre for exporting agricultural produce up to Calcutta by steamer. The river flows here in a northerly direction and is sufficiently broad and deep and presents a fine spectacle. The northerly course of the river continues for adout 8 miles, a little beyond Bateshvar Mahadev. It may be noted in this connection that the northerly course of the river is considered very holy and as such the region from Kahalgeon to Bateshvar is held sacred. There are three rocky islands situated in the Ganges not far from the bank. (Illustration No. 1). One of the islands is said to be once the abode of of Kashyap Rshi. There is a temple on the top of the hillock on one of the islands.

ORIYA AND ANTICHAK:—After proceeding for about two miles down the river bank, on the right hand side is the village of Kasdi (कासडी) situated at the foot of a range of hills on the top of which is the temple of Chaurasi Muni (eighty four sages). The remains here consist of caves and rock carvings being a forty seven-foot long frieze of sculptures which may date from the 7th century A. D. These sculptures may be of the Gupta tradition. About 3-1/2 miles further down the river bank the path takes an eastward turn for about half a mile to the village Oriya (ओरियम) belonging to the Shree Bhavan Barari Estate of Babu Keshab Mohan Thakur. One mile east of this village is another village called Antichak (अंतीचक). Beginning from Oriya upto the outskirts of this village there could be seen stone remnants of Buddhistic temples or *viharas*—big and small granite pillars, votive *stupas*, varieties of Buddhistic deities like

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Avalokitesvars, Tara, Maitreya, *Chattravali*, crowns of *stupas*, capitals of pillars, heavy pillar fragments, huge massive stone wheels, in all probability the top portions of big temples, and varieties of other things. Invariably every house in these two villages and near every well-both in the fields and the village proper-one comes across remnants of Buddhistic temples. Everywhere in this area of about 3×2 miles, there are old bricks on the surfaces and underground. Wherever the ground is opened, one gets bricks and brick structures. Even up to-day villagers dig open the ground with the hope of finding some fortune. Only yesterday in the northern outskirts of the village of Antichak, 5 or 6 pits were dug and let off.

There is a big pond still existing on the north of Antichak and the one on the eastern side was covered up completely and there is cultivation now over it, and on the southern side of the latter pond, there is a hillock overgrown by trees and heavy thickets. On a close examinination I found it to be nothing else but the remains of a collossal *stupa* full of bricks. A small brook flows by, coming from nearby-hills. On the northern side of the *stupa* which I presume to be the main one there are some more mounds which to my mind are the sites of *stupas* or remnants of some buildings. On the other side of the brook there are extensive building sites which were ripped open at random by the villagers both for building materials and for treasure-finding. At one place I saw the foundations of some small *stupas* and votive *stupas* in their original sites and some crowns of *stupas* scattered nearby. (Illustration No. 1). In these two villages, both in courtyards of houses and fields, there are teams of wells still, some in good condition and some in half dilapidated state. I saw remnants of big pottery (like those found at Nalanda) half buried, but unfortunately I had not the time at my disposal to dig them out. At another place I saw some brick-walled structures in good condition but they are sure to crash down soon beyond recovery and recognigation.

BATESHVARA MAHADEVA:—Within a mile north-west of the village of Oriya is the temple of Bateshvara Mahadeva, situated

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on the spur of a hill, also known as Patharghata (पाथरघाटा), just on the right bank of the river Ganges. (Illustration No. 1) The site of Bateshvara itself is very ancient for there is a mention of it in the *Siva Purana* but the present temple is of recent origin said to have been built by a Bengali devotée. There is a marble tablet over the main gate of the temple with some engravings in Bengali and in Pali (?), which I could not read. In the surroundings of the temple and in the Kali temple opposite it there are several beautiful Budhistic stone images of Avalokitesvara, Tara, Maitreya, Nagarjuna, etc., votive *stupas* pillars and other stone remnants. Very near the temple there are some caves dug out into the rocks. These have got some resemblance with theKuppa Ghat caves of Barari-Bhagalpur. A little south of this temple there is another small temple of Mahadeva situated between the 'aerial' roots of a big banyan tree. There are several stone remnants of Buddhistic images and stupas both inside the temple and outside on the platform. Within a few yards from the banyan tree there is a temple of Devi, sheltered in a crude hut. The main image and several images scattered all around are Budhistic and were brought from the site of the Vikramashila University.

Adjacent to the banyan tree, just on the Ganges bank, a big temple is under construction to commemorate the memory of a *Naga Baba*. The whole hill on which the temple of Bateshvara is situated has been bought by the Bengal Pottery Works for China Clay, which is tunnelling the whole hill causing irreparable damage to the ancient temple of Bateshvar Mahadeva.

THE SITE OF THE VIKRAMASHILA UNIVERSITY:–Considering the position of the two villages of Oriya and Antichak and the extensive brick and stone remains spread over nearly 6 to 10 square miles right up to Bateshvara Mahadev, there can be no doubt that this is the real site of the famous Royal University of Vikramashila which has been very graphically described by Tibetan Pandits like aranath, and others, as the seat of the great Bengali Acharya Atisha– "Dipankara Shreejnana, teaching his 8000 disciples, supervising a large number of temples and colleges with a huge bunch of keys hanging from his waist". I make a

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special mention of the Buddhistie remains in this region, for the archaelogists are still under the wrong notion that "Barring the Nalanda and Bodh Gaya temples little is known about the temple-architecture of Bihar in medeival days" (A. Ghosh, Supdt. Arrhaelogical Survey of India). It is a pity that the site of this famous royal University did not receive proper attention and scrutiny of the archaeologists and historians which it rightly deservas. Even now, if the archaeologists and historians evince some interest they could collect a good deal of material on the subject. I propose collecting all the Buddhistic remains scattered in the whole are in Oriya with the help of Pandit Bhujanginath Jha of the village of Oriya who is much interested in the matter, so that some one interested in the subject might get all the materials at one place for a closer study. I herein give three illustrations (Nos. 125, & 6 of the stone fragments of pillars with exquisite carvings, of votive *stupas*, and other things, kept in the office of my friend Babu Keshab Mohan Thakur of Barari Estate, Bhagalpur.

Sultanganj is 16 miles from Bhagalpur and is about 40 miles from Bateshvara, and Monghyr is 24 miles beyond Sultanganj. At both the places there are some Budhistic remains. At Sultanganj there is a rocky island in the river Ganges on which there is the temple of Gaibinath. Some scholars like Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana are of opinion that the site of Vikramashila is Sultanganj in view of the fact that there are some Budhistic remains there. The fact is that very few scholars had taken the trouble of going to the villages of Oriya and Antichak as they are 7 miles away from the railway station, with no *pucca* road or good conveyance except bullock-carts. But anyone who sees both Sultanganj and Antichak would at the very outset unequivocally pronounce the latter to be the real site of Vikramashila. So I once again appeal to scholars and archaeologists to pay a visit to this place and give their opinion on the subject.

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THE MALFUZAT AND MAKTUBAT OF A FOURTEENTH CENTURY SAINT OF BIHAR

By Syed Hasan Askari, Patna College

The writings of Muslim Sufis in Hindusthan are often taken to be of little historical significance for it is said that these mystic saints being generally mere ascetics had their eyes fixed on the rewards and punishments of the next world, and being interested only in shaping the religious out-look of a particular class of people,-their works were too dogmatic in nature and too conventional in their treatment to serve the purpose of a student of history. Further, they took little or no notice of the political and social changes which the impact of Islam on Hinduism and vice-versa was bringing about. But a careful study of such works as Tazkira or biography and Maktubat or letters and Malfuzat or table talks of the Sufis, specially of the Chistie Order, shows that much useful information of a political and social import can be gleaned by one interested in things historical from the saintly utterences and discourses. Indeed, this type of mystical literature has not received the attention that it deserves. Some of the Sufi saints exercised considerable influence on temporal[1] kings, officials, and nobles and there were many the influence of whose ideas on history and thought of the time and suceeding generation has been incalculable. One of the greatest Sufis of medieval India who had seen the days of 11 sultans of Delhi and died at the ripe age of 122 in 782 - 1380 at Biharsharif where his tomb is still the resort[2] of devout Muslims and Hindus was the cele

1. Eg. The saint of Pandua, named Hazrat Nur Qutub Alam, Raja Ganesh and Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur ii Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir and Ibrahim Sharqi III. The Bukhari saints and kings of Gujrat and Delhi IV. Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and the Sultans of Delhi, V. Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Sirhindi and his successors and the Mughal sovereigns and nobles.

2. His father's tomb at his birth place, Maner, 10 miles south west of Dinapur, and his own, at Biharsharif, were visited by rulers and princes like Sikandar Lodi, Babar, Shahjahan, Shah Alam etc. His Urs is celebrated even now with great eclact by both Muslims and Hindus.

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brated saint-scholar, Hazrat Ahmad Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri. The present paper represents an attempt to show who he was, what sort of people came to, corresponded with, and received instructions from, him, and what light do the incidental notices in his Maktubat or collections of letters, addressed by him to his contemporaries, and Malfuzat[3] or the day-to-day conversasions recorded by his disciples, throw on the political, social and cultural aspects of the period during which he flourished.

A great grandson of Imam Muhammad Taj Faqih, the traditional conqueror of Maner[4], and the progenitor[5] of a long line of saints, Hazrat Ahmad Sharfuddin, was born of parents[6] who died in odour of sanctity. While he was young he was made, as he himself[7] says, to commit to memory the 'Masadirs' and Miftahul Lughat, and on attaining the age of an adult he became seriously engaged in the acquisition[8] of the knowledge of theology. He

3. Most of these works which are still unpublished are in possession of Hakim Shah Taqi Saheb of Fatuha Khanqah who is a direct descendant and spiritual successor of the brother of Maulana Muzaffar Balkhi, the great disciple and the successor of the Makhdum of Bihar and the writer owes a deep debt of gratitude to him for allowing him the opportunity to consult them. (4) It is said that being invited by one, Momin Arif, who was oppresed by the Raja of the place he came from Jerusalem, accompanied by Tajuddin Khandgah, Mir Ali Turk, Mir Syed Jaffar, Qutub Salar, and 19 others, gathered a following, and overthrew the Raja of Maner in 576 or 1180 as is evident from the chronogram, "Dın-i-Mohammad Shud Qawi". The tomb of Qutub Salar who acted as general-in-chief in this expedition lies in an-adjoining village named Mehdawan while that of Momin Arif is pointed out at Maner
5. He sent one son, Ismael, to preach Islam north of the Ganges in Tirhoot and the latter was the ancestor of the well-known saints, Shaikh Qazin Shuttari and the Pir Ruknuddin of Jandaha etc. South Behar was allotted as a sphere of work to the other two sons, Israel, the grand father of the Makhdum of Behar, and Abdul Aziz, the father-in-law of Bibi Kamalo, a female saint of Kako in Gaya district, and grand father of Makhdum Shuaib of Shaikhpura in Monghyr district. Makhdum Shah Daulat, the spiritual guide of Abdul Rahim Khankhanan whose magnificent mausoleum was built at the instance of emperor Jahangir's general, Ibrahim khan Kakar, by Tangar Qulikhan Badakshani, in 1032, was 8th in direct descent from Imam Taj Faqih. See Report of A. S. Bengal and also Maasir-lu- Umra
6. His mother, Bibi Razia, a saintly lady, was one of the 4 daughters of Hazrat Shahabuddin Pir Jagjot of Jetohli, a little to the east of Patna
7. M. M. (Madan-ul-Maani)
8. M. A. (Manaqib-ul-Asfia) by Makndum Shuaib, a cousin of Hazrat Sharfuddin.

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completed his education under a great savant, M. Sharfuddin Tawwama, at Sonargaon, in Bengal, where the latter had been practically exiled by the then Sultan of Delhi who had become suspicious of him owing to his growing influence and increasing following. We are told that at this time Bengal was a dependency[9] of Delhi. This was, perhaps the time of the Balbani kings of Bengal which began in 682 A. H. or 1283 A, D. The future Makhdum of Bihar lived at Sonargaun for many years during the course of which the life of austerity and celibacy and devotion to learning told upon his health so much so that he was advised to marry and soon had a son born to him. He returned with the child to Maner just after the death of his father in[10] 690 or 1291. Very soon however, he left for Delhi in search of a religious guide and there met many saints and men of learning including the famous Nizamuddin Aulia and Maulana Ziauddin Simnani. Being disgusted with something that he saw there he proceeded to Panipat where he paid a visit to Shah Bu Ali Qalander but was persuaded by his elder, brother,[14] Khaliluddin, to return to Delhi where he became the disciple of Shah Najibuddin Firdusi. This happened shortly before the death of the latter in 691. On his return homeward when he had proceeded beyond Benares, he heard the voice of an ostrich which threw him into an ecstatic mood and led to his disappearance in the jungle of Behea

9. Ibid.
10. W. S. (Wasilat-us-Sharaf) and S. S. (Sirat-us-Sharaf). Both in Urdu and printed.
11. M. A. and Miratul Asrar. The author of Akhbarul Akhyar and Ain-i-Akbari are wrong in saying that the famous spiritual guide of Amir Khusru had died before the arrival of Makhdum of Behar at Delhi. According to M. A., a contemporary work by a cousin and disciple of the Mukhdum of Behar, the latter met the Qutub of Delhi who favoured him with atray full of betels The distribution of betels was generally taken as an important part of the ceremonial visits of guests and indicated the final act of hospitality The Bihari visitor who had expected some thing else also was disappointed.
12. A. A.
13. M. A. (Kujhwa ms)
14. Other brothers were Jaliluddin and Habibuddin. He had a sister also named Khadija.
15. The Author of Mirat-ul-Asrar says that he died in the time of sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak but the word "Akhas" perhaps gives the true date.

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in Shahabad district. Only once during the period of twelve[16] years of wandering in the jungle of Behea did he suddenly make his appearance at Maner to console his mother. But he requested her not to bother herself about him and after taking her blessings he again resorted to hills and jungles of Shahabad, Patna, Monghyr, and Morang. As he himself once said the period of his self-morfification lasted for more than thirty years during which period he hardly ate cooked food and had to subsist on grass, fruits and leaves of trees.

At last Maulana Nizamuddin[18], a devoted disciple of Nizamuddin Aulia of Delhi, who had come to Behar along with others, discovered him in the hills of Rajgir which soon became a resort of his disciples and admirers. After some time the saint voluntarily agreed to come every Friday to Bihar-Sharif to impart instructions to his devotees. These weekly visits to Behar must have begun in the twenties of the eighth century, for once when Qazi Zahid asked the saint "who is the man of God in India?" he replied "he is the same[19] mad (inspired) man of Panipat?" Obviously this refers to Hazrat Bu Ali Qalandar who was alive till 724 or 1324 Again Maulana Ziauddin Simnani whom the Makhdum met, as he himself says, had died before the death of Nizamuddin Aulia which happened in 725. After some time Maula Nizamuddin built a 'Do Chapra'[20] which was later converted into a residential house for the saint just outside the city

16. M. A.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid
19. This he said in reply to a question put by Qazi Zahid. As regards the incidents of this period not much is known. Once questioned by M. Muzaffar Balkhi he said that one day while wandering over the hills (of Rajgir) he met a noble man who was taking his meals while his servants were waving "Murchal" over him. He was invited to partake of the food from the same dishes to the great amazement and also annoyance of his attendants. He enjoyed the spectacle immensely. Once he met a "Yogi" who asked him as to who were "Siddhas" and he replied a "Siddha, is one who, if he wants, can convert this jungle into gold". Shaikh "Chulhai" the life long attendant of the saint was a "Gawala" before he became a convert. He was so impressed by the piety and superhuman qualities of the saint tnat he decided never to leave his company.
20. Mark the Hindi words.

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in what was called Safipur. The saint continued the practice of returning to the hills and the jungles of Rajgir so long as his health permited it. At last he was persuaded to transfer his aged mother and his family from Maner to Behar and to stay there permanantly. 'Friends'[21] he said, 'your association with me had brought me to such a pass as to be installed in this house of idols'. When Sultan Mohammad Tughlak heard of this affair he wrote to Majdulmulk,[22] 'the Mukti of Behar,' that he should construct a khanqah for the saint of Behar and grant the lands of Rajgir for its upkeep. The sultan also sent a"Musalla-i-Bulghari"[23] as a present for the saint. He also wrote in the 'farman' that if the saint did not accept the gifts he should be compelled[24] to do so The document of Rajgir was reluctantly accepted for the time being on the entreaties of the Governor to save the latter from the wrath of the eccentric sultan. The Khanqah, which is still extant, must have been built some time before 746 for it has been mentioned in Maadan-ul-Maani which contains the discourses of the saint upto 746. When the sultan died in 752 the saint undertook a journey to Delhi, saw his successor, Firuz Tughlak,[25] and after taking his promise to accept his request he returned the deed of the Jagir of Rajgir. This must have happened some time before Zihijja 761 when Firuz Shah marched by way[26] of Behar to Jajnagar' and is said to have visited the saint at his[27] own place. We find later the saint speaking bitterly of the unjust execution of his two Bihari devotees,[28] Ahmad Shaikh and Aaz kakwy, by the orders of the sultan, on the 'fatwah' of the Delhi Ulema on the charge of uttering things which were considered anti-religious.

21. Ibid. Bihar Sharif was an important stronghold of Buddhism (Mahayana form).
22. Ibid. His name, Zainuddin, is given in M. M.
23. The presence of Bulgarian prayer carpets in India is significant.
24. References in the letters and in M. A. to the character of the emperor are quite in keeping with what we get else where.
25. M. Q. (Munis-ul-Qulub).
26. See Barni's book and Tarikh Mubarak Shahi
27. Irshad us Salikin quoted in Yadgar-i-kaku.
28. M. A. Hazrat shuaib gives details of the whole incident and he has been quoted by the authors of Munis-ul-Qulub & others.
29. Ibid The present writes who is proud to claim direct descent from this well known saint has recently dicovered a rare copy of his Malfuzat which will form the subject of another paper.

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Orders were issued summoning the saint to the imperial capital. But when the sultan learned that his spiritual guide, Sayed Jalal Bukhari[29] known as Makhum Jahanian, could not be seen for he was very busy in perusing the Maktubat of the saint of Behar he repented and cancelled his orders.

Of the different sets of such Muktubat[30] which have been so highly spoken of by saints and even historians one is dated 747, another contains letters written upto 749, while the third has letters written after 766. Ethe has given a list of their contents. As regards the Malfuzat[31], one Maadan, has been already referred to Its compiler, Zain Badr Arabi, gathered the discources delivered from 15th Shaban,746 upto 751. The Khan-i-Pur-Niamat, is supplement to the first. Two other Malfuzat, Rahat-ul-Qulub and Tuhfa-i - Ghaibi, the latter containing the discoures delivered between 759 and 770, were gathered, by the same compiler. Malfuz - uz - Zafar gives us the daily discourses, of the year 762. Other Malafiz, Fawaid-i-Rukini, Irshad-ut-Talibin, Irshad us-Salikin, Ajwaba etc. bear no date. This is the case with Mukhul Maani, compiled by Syed Shahabuddin Halifi, which was apparently written after the death of Mohammad Tughluk for he has been referred to as "deceased'. A valuable collection, Munisul Muridin, compiled by Salah Mukhlis Daud Khani, gives the discourses of 775. Ganj-i-la-Yakhfa and Munis-ul-Qulub of the Balkhi disciples of the saint and Ganj-i- Arshadi have also been consulted.

The Maktubat are from the pen of the saint himself but the series of discourses embodied in the Malfuzat were written down as they fell from his lips and were all put together before his death. The Majlis or assembly was held after every Friday prayer and in Ramzan between two evening prayers. Some times a

30. The copies consulted contain 100, 209, 208 and 28 letters respectively the refers to another which seems to be differant from this.
31. They belong to Shah Taki Saheb Balkhi of Fatuha.
32. Store house, a part of the Khanqah.
33. The 45 discourse, dated 13 zihijja 760, says "Malik Mahmud who had been sent to Bihar by Firuz Shah "may his kingdom be perpetuted ! for regulating certain affairs". The 'Mutasarif' was an officer who collected the Revenue of the province.

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chosen few listened to the saint on the balcony of the Ambar Khana and very often when the saint went out for relaxation of mind or in order to offer "Fatiha" to the dead in thegrave yard people gathered round to hear him. Occasionally he stopped in the garden of Malik Mahmud Iwaz, sat down on a" Chabutra" under a tree and answered the questions put to him. Some times a feast or Majlis of Sama was arranged by some one and it became an occasion for the discussion of religious matters. There is considerable parallelism in the subject matter of the Maktubat and Mulfuzat but the latter naturally yeild more what a student of history is concerned with.

Besides common people and shaikhs we find many high personages, officials, and men of rank and position, among the audiance or the addressies. They include kings and princes like Sultan Muhammad 'Tughlak', Dawar[34] Mulk, son in lawofSultan Mohammad, Sultan Firoz Shah, ShahazadaMobarak[35], the 'haram' of Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi; officials of Behar and other provinces like

34. The historian Siraj Afif, tells us of the efforts of "Khudawandzada, a daughter of Ghiasuddin Tughluk and a sister of Sultan Mohammad Tughluk, to put forward, on the death of the latter, the claim of her son, Dawar Mulk, the Naib Ameer Hajib. She was silenced by Malik Saifuddin who said "your son is wayward". She later conspired with the help of her husband, Khusru Malik, to kill Firoz Shah. A hint from Dawar Mulk, her son, saved the situation for the Sultan.History (Afif) also records the names of two of the daughters'son of Sultan, Mohammad Tughlak. No wonder if Dawar Mulk. the Sultans' sister's son, had married his daughter. There is a good deal of confusion about the parentage of Dawar-Mulk. Afif tells us that he was the son of Khudawadadzada by a husband other than Khusru Malik. According to Barani, his father was Qazi Sadruddin Arif who had been the Chief Qazi and Sadr-i-Jahan under Alauddin and who was the daughters' son of Sadr-i-Jahan Minhaj Juzjani, the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. As regards Khusru Malik, he was, according to Firishta, the son of Muhammad Tughlak's sister and served as the Commander of the Qarachal expedition in which he met his death. This is obviously in correct. Hodivala, on the basis of the persian text of Tarikh-i-i-Mubark Shahi (not available here), identifies Dawar Mulk with Maulana Yusuf on whom Muhammad Tughlak had bestowed that title and given his daughter in marriage. This would make Dawar Mulk a fairly aged man in 1358 when he trustrated the plot ot his mother, the emperor's cousin and of her second husband.

35. It is difficults to establish the identity of this personage Perhaps he was the prince mentioned in the list of Barani.

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Zainuddin Majdul mulk, the 'mukti' of Behar, Raziulmulk Malik Mahmud Iwaz, the 'Mutasarrif' of Behar, Kazi Moinuddin "Hakim of Behar", Kazi Badruddin, the Kazi of Arval, 'Gaya district', Sultan Shah. the parganadar of Rajgir; Khaja Shamsuddin, Parwana Nawis, Kazi Shamshuddin, 'Hakim of Chausa' 'near Buxar', Kazi Shamshuddin "Hakim of the town of Khakhor," Kazi Sadruddin" Naib Kazi" of Sonargaon, Ali Usman "Sepahsalar," Shahabuddin "Shahna or superintendant of police," Kazi Ashrafuddin, Kazi Minhajuddin, Kazi Ahmad Hafiz, Kazi Zahid, Kazi Raziuddin, son of Khatib of Zaffrabad, 'Jaunpur', Kazi Nasrulallah, and other nobles such as Malikul Umra Malik Muffarreh, Malik Zada Fazlullah, Malik Khizr, Malik Nasiruddin, son of Malik Nizamuddin, Shamshuddin, Khawarizmi entitled Shamshul Muluk and Tajuddin, brother's son of Mutasarrif, Amir Shahabuddin Kobi, brother of Malik Husamuddin etc. Three letters addressed respectively to Sultan Mohammad Tughluk, Sultan Firoze Shah, and prince Dawar Mulk and those sent to Malik Muffarrih are well worth our special attention.

35. Malfuz-ug-Zafar. The discourses, dated 24th jamadi 762, say that the saint came out with Maulana Qazi Khan and two others to receive the widowed queen of Sultan Ikhtiyaruddin, deceased, who had become his disciple. History is silent but the coins of Bengal record that such a Sultan lived and reigned from 751 to 753, in Bengai.

37. He does not seem to be the same personage as Zain Banda or Zainuddin called also Majdul Mulk by Frishta Badayuni. and the author of T. A. (Tabakat-i-Akbari).

38. Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi says that after the murder of Damghani, the fief of Gujrat was granted to Malik Mufarrih Sultani by Firoz Shah Tughlak. He is also referred to as Amir of Cambay and the Mukti of Guzrat. There are several letters which he received from the saint exhorting him to do good to the people and to show kindness to the poor and the indigent people. His virtues are appreciated and once when he sent a "mindii" and "suf" (tur ban cloth and a piece of wool") his gifts were not refused.

39. The words Amir, Malik, etc., were honorific titles and indicated the ranks of nobility. In the 15th century Amir was the title of a provincial governor : the word 'Hakim' denoted an executive officer, sometimes the governor of an area smaller than a province. It was inferior to "Mukti" and "Wali". On one occasion Majdul Mulk, "Mukti of Behar", and Kazi Moinuddin "the Hakim of Behar" were together present in the same assembly. The Qazi was an official with duties not merely judicial but also executive. They were judicial assistants of the governor. See Moreland.

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Besides the name of Majdul Mulk, the Mukti[40] or governor of Behar, we get the names of other Muktis or governors of Behar for the first time in the Malfuzat of the saint and of his disciples. The saint once said that in the time of sultan Shamshuddin Iltutmish the first Mukti of Behar was Malik Nathu who was replaced by Malik Alauddin. Two other 'Muktis', mentioned in connection with the affairs of the Saint, are Malik Muizzuddin Ghor, and Malik Abdur Rahman. Another [42] valuable information was furnished by the saint on the 10th Majlis or 30th jamadi 760. When questioned about the requisite qualifications of a ruler he said that both benevolence and sparingness were necessary and severities should be tempered with mercy. He added that in the past there was a king at Sonargaon called Shamshuddin [43] who had a Vazir named Arsalan Khan.[44] One day he summoned his Vazir

40. Moreland distinguishes between Iqtadar or the holder of assignments and "Mukti" or governor of a province and holds that Mukti's positions was bureaucratic, not feudal; he was in charge of a province and was essentially an administrator. It was the Mukti's duty to maintain a body of troops for king's service and the strength and pay of his troops were fixed by the king of whom he was the nominee. He had also to collect the revenue due for his charge and after defraying the provincial expenditure to remit the surplus to the king's capital. His financial transactions in regard to both receipt and expenditure were audited by the officers of the revenue ministry in the capital. Quraishi is of the view that a Wali was higher than a Mukti and was possessed of extraordinary powers. But number of such provinces as had Wali was small and the major part of the sultanate was administered by governors with limited authority. Such was a Mukti. The way in which the auther of Manaqib-ul-Asfia speaks of Majdul mulk shows that he was governor rather than a fief holder.

41. Malik Natthu, the "Sahib-i-Hajib", or the chamberlain, was one of those Amirs and Maliks who had at first co-operated in 752 (1351) with the ex-Wazir, Khawaja-i-Jahan, in opposing the accesson of sultan Firoz Tughlak, see T. M. S.

42. Munis-ul-Muridin.

43. Shamshuddin Firoz Shah I was the second son of Nasiruddin Bughra Khan who was appointed governor of Bengal by his father, Balban, and allowed the insignia of royalty in 682. S. Shamshuddin Firuz I succeeded his brother, Kaikaus in 702 and reigned in Bengal till 718. He had five or six sons. J. A. S. B. 1873, Reyaz.

44. A new name and a new information.

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and asked him as to which of his two sons, Hatim Khan, [45] the ruler of Behar, and Bahadur Shah [46] who was in Kamrup [47] (Assam) [48] was worthy of kingship. The Vazir replied that none was fit enough for being a king. The king felt a little annoyed but asked the vazir as to why he said so. He replied that Hatim was a man of generous disposition, was mild and merciful, while Bahadur Shah was over-bearing, despotic and jealous in point of honour. The one lacked force and severity while the other was wanting in kindness affability and, therefore, both were deficient and unfit for kingship. The saint further said that whatever the vazir had said was seen and actually happned for when sultan Shamshuddin died Behadur Shah was the ruler of Kamrup and Hatim Khan was the ruler of Behar. After some time the one fell from kingship because of his haughty, overbearing, and despotie character, while the other proved to be a failure owing to his excessive benevolence and mercifulness.

45. Hatim Khan was the 5th son of Shamshuddin Firuz 1 Blochmann says on the basis of two inscriptions, one dated 709, on the runied remains of what was once the lofty gateway of Hatim Khan's palace due east of Behar hill, and the other, dated 715, and found on a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choti Durgah in Behar sharif and the attached mosque, built by Hatim Khan, describing the latter as "just and and liberal Khaqan and also mentioning his father, Sultan Firuz 1 that Hatim Khan served as the governor of Behar during the years 709 to 715, if not earlier and later also. But the present text shows that his governship of Behar lasted till after the death of his father.

46. The third and the most famous son of Shamshuddin Firuz 1 who ruled in Eastern Bengal, as Blochmann says, from 711 (if not earlier) to 719 and over the whole of Bengal during the years 720 to 723. He was turned out by the first Tughluk king but was restored, in 725, by his successor to the Governorship of Eastern Bengal jointly with Baharam Khan by Muhammad Tughlak. He rebelled but was defeated and killed about 731.

47. A new information which need not be summarily dismissad. Bahadur Shah's long connection with Eastern Bengal, his enterprising nature, and the discovery of his coins in the trove of koch Behar which adjoins Kamrup are much too significant in this connection to be ignored.

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There are also incidental references to Sultan Mohammad Tughlak "may God[49] pardon him!"! of whom the Khans and Maliks were so mortally afraid for, though sitting in the morning on the Masnad they were exposed to the risk of being put in chains and thrown into prison on the strength of the reports received in the night; to Kutlugh Khan [50] the grandee, who used to hold the conference of the learned and whose assembly was always attended by students and who was fond of learning above everything else; to Sultan Shamshuddin (Iltutmish) and prince Kutlugh Khan who were so fond of the melodious voice of Hafiz Moulana Zainuddin, brother of Maulana Sharfuddin Tawwama,[51] that they used to make him their Imam in prayer in preference to others; to the [52] utility of cavalry and infantry and services of the Mukties and kotwals stationed in Behar by the king so that they should maintain peace in the city, keep the roads safe for wayfarers, and prevent the infidels from gaining ascendancy and afford opportunity to thousands to remain engaged in prayer and the reading of the Quran. Once when questioned as to whether it was justified to observe the practice of bending the head and showing respect on hearing of the king,[53] the saint said there was no objection to it if it was the etiquette.

Why was the renowned saint of Behar who led the life of such severe austerity[54] and who condemned worldly things and worldly men and wrote and spoke so openly and so bitterly against the "wordly ulema" who "ate the bread

48. Mukh-ul-Maani.
49. Almost all the historians mention his name. He was the son of Malik Burhanuddin.
50. We do not know which of the sons of the sultan was called 'Prince Qutlagh',
51. The Savant of Sonargoan and the teacher of the saint of Behar.
52. M. M. N.
53. Khan-Pur-Niamat.
54. There are many anecdotes and references to the life led by the saint to prove this. Once when he found smoke arising from the house where his aged mother lived he went to her and addressing her as "Mamun" asked her the reason for such an abnormal affair. Ultimately the guests for whom the kitchen had been lighted were provided with their meals but not coocked in the house of the saint's mother.

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of kings and made the thresholds [55] of kings and Maliks their Qibla" himself, apprently, so responsive and accommodating in his attitude towards kings, princes and officials ? It was not for his own sake but for the good of the people. His instructive discourses were meant to put the men of power and rank and position on the right track and make them realise their responsibility towards those who bad been handed over to them as trust. One day in 760 he spoke rather disparagingly about the "Qazis of these days",[58] distinguished between three types of Qazis, and gave his opinion that "the Qazi who is given to bribery has his place in hell". On another occasion he said "oppression is worse than infidelity. It is forbidden to look at one who practises oppressions and injustice but not at one who is an infidel". There is a clear hint as to how the Muftis should give their decision in the story related by him that once the theological students of Sonargoan raised such a tumult by declaring the use of lime prepared from oyster-shells to be forbidden by the Shariat as to attract the notice of nobles and rulers but fortunately the Muftis declared that thousands [57] of people had become so addicted to the habit that they could not be involved in troubles. He added "the path of Islam is wide enough for all. If there is no express doctrine of law against the use of anything such as wine, it should be allowed". Once Qazi Shamshuddin, the "Hakim of the town of Khokhar" asked the saint about the propriety of addressing non-believers as "Thakkar" [58] (Thakur) and he replied that the word simply meant khundkar and Khudawand (lord and master) and there was no objection to showing respect to an infidel. It was a lesson in tolerance. He exhorted all his disciples, specially those in power, to render what ever service they could, particularly to the Muslims The letters to Malik Ul-Umra Malik Mufarrah and to sultan Firuz Shah Tughlak form an interesting reading in this connection. Qazi Husamuddin of Daulatabad whom he had made his disciple

55. Maktubat.
56. Malfuz.
57. K. P. N.
58. K. P. N.
59. Maktubat.

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in absentia, on his own request, was enjoined upon to do what he could to help a struggling man with a family, Haji Musul, who also carried his recommendatory letters to those who were charitably disposed. Once he spoke as follows'' Sages and holy saints ought to respond to the summons of kings but they should not go to them unless they were summoned except when they realised the impossibility of securing something from the king for others. Then referring to himself he added "At the time I used to live in my own cell (Rajgir) the ruler of the place was a Malik who had no contact with God's creatures. People used to come to me and requested me to go to him or to write recommendatory letters to him. I used to give them such letters. Such cases became so numerous and so many people croweded in upon me that human as I am I began to feel disgusted. The Shaikh Zada was at that time here and on seeing me in such a condition he reminded me of my duty to come to the relief of God's creatures. He cited the example of Makhdum Maudud Chisti who though rebuffed once when he personally approached a ruler to recommend a case felt no hesitation in repeating his visit when he was again requested by the same needy person. The saint's letter to Dawar Mulk, couched rather in a sarcastic phraseology, and his reply to the letter of Sultan Mohammad Tughluk requesting him for his blessings and for special exposition of the Sufistic problems, tell us of what he had really thought of princes and kings and their capacity to understand mystic doctrines.

That the Sufis far from showing a detachment from the life of the common people were in intimate touch with the social and religious currents of life is clear from what we get in the letters and utterances of the saint of Behar and others. There are references to the people coming regularly to the saint after seeing the first moon and felicitating him and each other on these occasions and also to festivals like Shabbarat, Ieed, and Ashura or 10th of Moharrum and we know what singificance was attached to them. Those claiming descent from the Prophet were held in high esteem and once the Syeds, among the audience on Ashura

60. K. P. N.
61. A well-known saint who died in.

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day, were condoled upon what had befallen their ancestor at Karbala. The saint refers to, and explains the genesis of, a practice still current among Muslims, and that is to cook Satanja food (consisting of seven grains) on Ashura and offer it as Fatiha for the departed souls of the Imam. Similarly, while referring to another function, common then as now, specially among certain class of Muslim women, namely 'Bibi Mariam ka Roza, on 15th of Rajab, the saint traced its origin to the story of a lady, Mariam, who had lost and regained her son as a result of certain prayers and fasting on that day. We get references to such customs as the formal clothing of the child on the sixth day of its birth, to the ceremony accompanying Aqiqa (shaving of the head) of the child, to the fixing of forty thousand Tankas, as dower money, to the throwing of rose water on the shrouds and flowers on the corpse, to the ladies attending the Urs or anniversary of saints, to the visits paid to tombs and grave yards to recite Fatiha. to the observance of "Siyum or the death ceremony of the third day when friends and relation gathered, recited the Quran, and distributed betel leaves and fruits. Once it was pointed out that Muslim women had become habituated to the use of vermillion for marking the parting of the hair after the fashion of the Hindu women, the saint replied that there was nothing objectionable in it if it was done to look pretty.

62. K. P. N. Perhaps it is the same, which The Shias call Amal-i-i-Umme Daud.
63. M. Q. The saint sent his own "Pairahan" and "Dastarcha" out of which the cloths of the new born son of one of his Balkhi disciples had to be sewen and put on his body on the sixth day, according to his desire.
64. G. L. Y. (Ganj Layakhfa).
65. Ibid "Sipah Salar Ali Usman" one of the disciples of the saint who had fixed such a sum on his daughter's marriage was politely told that even Caliph Harun Rashid had fixed the amount of his daughter's dower less than four hundred what the prophet's daughter, Fatima, got form her husband, Ali.
66. M. M.
67. K. P. N.
68. Ibid. Also Malfuz-uz-Zaffar and other Malfuzat.
69. The saint was himself accustomed to go to the grave yards and offer Fatiha. This was specially the case over the tomb of his own sister, Khadija. See Munis ul Muridin, G. L. Y., Muktubet etc.
70. K. P. N.

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Then the great saint of Behar like the other Chistic saints was not averse to "Sama" or listening to the songs of skilled Qawwals. But he took care to enjoin upon his followers to keep themselves under restraint in this respect. There is a lengthy and learned exposition of the problem of Music, movement of bodies, ecstacy and trances etc. In letter No. 93 the views of Hazrat Ali Hujveri[71] and of Abdur Rahman-as-Sullami have been specially referred to. The saint distinguishes between three types of Sama, namely Haram, Mubah, and Halal, and lays down the etiquette that has to be observed and the conditions of times, place, and persons that have to be fulfilled. There are many references to the saint having listened to, and encouraged and being even affected by, such songs. On 22 Ziqad 760 he went out on a 'dola' [72] for taking airs with friends towards "Hauz Rani" and the day being cloudy he stopped near "Hauz s Khawaja Gangu Abdur Rahim" when a number of Qawwals made their appearance and enlivened the assembly between the two prayers. On 8th Ramzan 760 the [73] saint referred approvingly to Haji Rababi, a musician of the time of Sultan Shamshuddin Iltutmish, who in his old age found his Rabab broken, gave up the pursuit of music, and put on the garb of a Sufi. At this time "Chajj Guaurai" [74] the ministrel was present. Turning to him the saint said "Now that your ends are drawing near, it is high time for you to give up your profession and make amends for the past". In an assembly where Malik Mahmud, the Mutassrif of Behar, was present a body of of the Goindagan or Qawwals had also come and they gave musical performence. In the end they started singing a "Hindvi" song which was followed by "Farodast". [75] The saint observed "Hindvi songs are too wide and open, almost obscene and exciting. It is diffi-

71. The celebrated saint of the Ghaznavid period who is known as Data Ganj Buksh and is buried within a magnificent mausoleum at Lahore He was the author of Kashful Mahjub which was translated by Nicholson in English and is an authoritative work on Islamic Mysticism.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Mukhul Maani. Note the Indian name.
75. A kind of Rag said to have been invented by Amir khusru.

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cult to listen to such music without falling into mischief and this is specially so for young people". Once when asked by his Chief "Khadim" as to why he had suddenly forbidden the "Goindagan" to continue their "Jigaree"[76], that is, "Hindvi" songs the saint replied that "Jigaree" song was usually sung by women and young men were present in the assembly and that every one was not capable of standing the shock and diving deep into the realities.

That the saint of Behar occasionaly listened to, and made his comments upon, "Hindvi" songs is significant for it reminds us of another usual feature of the Chistie order of Sufis. The knowledge and cultivation of vernaculars was another notable characterstic of the Chisti Sufis of which we find evidence in the life and work of the great saint of Behar. A Falnama [77] and many medicinal[78] formulae in the "Hindvi" language are generally ascribed to the great saint of Behar. Though a manuscript copy of Falnama which is about 200 years old is available its language is not so archaic as one expects it to be. The case is different with the formulea but there is nothing but tradition to rely on. We have. however, authentic evidence that the saint was familier with, and occasionally spoke the language of, the bulk of the population of Behar. Maulana Muzaffar, his worthy disciple, puts into his mouth the words "Ayeen Rat Suhayean Gin Karan [20] Dhiyan Khayeean" that is, the pleasant nights have come for which I had suffered so many kicks. Once a disciple, Jalaluddin Multani, exclaimed, during the course of the discussion of mystic problems, "who so [81]ever has said in Hindvi has said so well namely "Bat Bhali Par Sankari' The path is good but it is too narrow, and the saint immediately replied "Des Bhala Par Door" or the[82]

76. A kind of Rag usually sung by women.
77. Nuqush-i-Sulaimani by Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi. The falnama is found also by an old ms by an ancestor of the present Sajjadanashin of Mangal Talab, Patna City.
78. S. S.
79. Khanqah-i-Fatuha.
80. M. Q. & the Malfuzat of the Balkhi saint.
81. Maadan-ul-Maani.

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country, that is, the goal is nice but it is too far. Once when the Gawalas or cowherds suspected him to be a thief when they found him in a wintry night beneath Puwal and tried to molest him he exclaimed "Manho Tark channo mabhati" (leave me : I like to remain covered).

Indeed one of the means adopted by the saint-preachers of Islam in order to find an entrance into the heart of the Hindus was to employ their language and to come in close contact with them. There are references to the Hindus coming to him, conversing with him, and some times embracing Islam at his hands, A Hindu, 81 years old, once came and requested him to convert him to Islam. There are many reference to Hindu yogis and the claim they made of performing such feats as flying in the air. We are told how the Hindus of his days practised selfdestruction owing to the excessive love they bore to their deities. Two eminent jogis who embraeed Islam because they came, conversed with, and were impressed by, the saints' exposition of the beauties of his religion are lying buried within the enclosure of the saints' mausoleum. Many Hindus even today show in their own way their respect and veneration for the great saint of Bihar. May his soul rest in peace !

82. Gang-i-Arshadi, being the Malfuzat of Hazrat Diwan Abdur Rashid, a well known saint of Jaunpour of the 17th century. Seenby the writer at Mahal, Bihar Sharif.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Compromises in the History of Advaitic thought* by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M. A., I. E. S. (Retired), published by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Sanskrit College, Mylapore, Madras, 1946, pp. 37 88, Price Re. 1. 4 as.

This booklet contains the two lectures delivered by the late Mm Kappuswami Sastri—the renowned Sanskritist and pioneer of Indological Research in the South -- under the auspices of Rao Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Endowment at the University of Madras.

The author tries to show that the spirit of compromise and accommodation, so "necessary in the interests of truth itself", can be found in all stages of Indian speculation beginning from the Rgveda (ऋग्वेद) down to the later Post-Samkara period. In the Rgveda (ऋग्वेद) we find the attempt to reconcile (1) polytheism with monotheism by holding the theory of, what Maxmullar called, Henotheism, and (2) pluralism with monism by holding the theory of the diversifying magical power Maya (माया). In the Upanisads (उपनिषद्) there is, along with the belief in one Ultimate Reality, the belief in the word of multiplicity also being a manifestation of that Reality. Similarly we find there the conception of Jivanmukti (जीवन्मुक्ति) along with Videhamukti (विदेहमुक्ति), as well as the popular conception of devayana (देवयान). The conception of Brahman (ब्रह्मन्) as not merely cit (चित्) but also as sat (सत्) and ananda (आनन्द) marks a compromise between intellectualism and anti-intellectualism.

In the epic and puranic ages there evolved various compromises, the best examples of which are present in the Bhagavadgita (भगवदगीता) in which we can find (1) a synthesis of Jnana (ज्ञान), Bhakti (भक्ति) and Karma (कर्म), (2) the emphasis on the necessity of giving and takeing Paraspara-Bhavana (परस्पर-भावना), (3) the teaching that even the wisest should adhere to the established ways of the world Loka-Samgraha (लोक-संग्रह) and (4) the instruction that "revolutionary unsettlement of the minds of the

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ignorant" should be avoided Na Budhibhedam Janayet (न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेत्). In the Bhagavata (भागवत) also we find the attempts to adjust Bhakti (भक्ति) to Jnana (ज्ञान) and to show that a "worshipper is really worshipping himself in worshipping God."

In a similar manner the author shows the many examples of compromise in religious beliefs and philosophical theories in Badarayana (बादरायण) (e.g. Samanvaya) (समन्वय), Jaimini (जैमिनि) (e.g. Eka-Vakyata) (एक वाक्यता), in Kumarila (कुमारिल) and Prabhakara (प्रभाकर) (e. g. their compromising attitude toward Advaita (अद्वैत), in Bhartriprapancha (भर्तृप्रपञ्च) (e. g. Bhedabheda-vada) (भेदाभेदवाद), in Brahmadatta (ब्रह्मदत्त) (e. g. his Samuccayavada) (समुच्चयवाद), in Gaudapada (गौडपाद) (e. g. his conception of as the harmony of differing views), in Mandana Misra (मण्डन मिश्र) (e. g. his reconciliation of Anirvacaniya-Khyati with Anyatha-Khyati and Viparita-Khyati (अनिर्वचनीय ख्याति तथा अन्यथा ख्याति और विपरीत ख्याति) Samkara's (शंकर) theory of Adhyasa (अध्यास) as the principle explaining the appearance of the one as many, his recognition of the practical reality (Vyavaharika Satta) (व्यावहारिक सत्ता) of the world, and of the necessity of ethical discipline (Sadhana Chatustaya) (साधन चतुष्टय) are cited by the author as evidences of compromeis

Though in the post Samkara (शंकर) period the Advaitins (अद्वैतिनः) become more and more uncompromising in their attitude yet, the auther notes, even Sri Harsa (श्री हर्ष) recognises Bhakti (भक्ति) as a step to the Advaitic goal, Appaya Dikshita (अप्पय दीक्षित) admits Visistadvaita (विशिष्टाद्वैत) as a step to Advaita (अद्वैत). Madhusudana Sarasvati (मधुसूदन सरस्वती) tries to harmonise all views on the principle of differing fitness Adhikara-bheda (अधिकार-भेद) and so on.

The work is a fruit of mature scholarship and is very thought—provoking. But perhaps a more expressive title of the book would have been "Compromises in the History of Indian Thought"—for, the discussion is not confined merely to Advaita (अद्वैत). The 20 pages of Index for a book of 37 pages has little justification, especially in these days of paper scarcity.

2. The Bhagavadgita (भगवद्गीता) (Being Reprint of Relevant Parts of Bhisma-parvan (भीष्मपर्वन्) from Bhandarkar Oriental

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Research Edition of the Mahabharata (महाभारत) critically edited by Sripad Krishna Belvalkar, sometimes Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona and Benares Hindu Uuiversity, and published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1945. Pp. 108; Price Rs.7. 8 as.

For the layman or the religious reader there is no dearth of edition of the Bhagavadgita (भगवद्गीता) in any of the Indian scripts. But, for the scholar who wants to pause critically at every word and check its authenticity or reliability, even the plethora of ordinary edition leaves much to be desired; and the present work edited by a critical and mature scholar of Sanskrit in the light of 34 manuscripts of different recensions obtained from different parts of India, Nepal and Java, will certainly go very far to appease all intellectual curiosity regarding the text. Thirty two pages of erudite editorial note about the variant readings and other textual matters, as well as the copious footnotes to the edited text mentioning the various alternative readings show the great pains taken to arrive at the selected version and command all confidence. The critical notes at the end add to the value of the work. Much of the dry scholarly appearance of the work is relieved by the beautifully coloured illustrations after ancient models by Srimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh. There is a facsimile of a Nepalese Ms. of 1476 A. D. in Newari characters at the beginning and there is also a tabular index of Sanskrit citations obtained from old—Javanese whieh excite much curiosity.

Ordinarily the different parts of the Mahabharata (महाभारत) published by the B. O. R. Institute are not sold separately. But in view of the great popularity of the Gita (गीता) portion of the Mahabharta (महाभारत) the Institute has deviated from the general rule to make 500 reprints of that portion available to the interested public. This very happy deviation will show to the wider cirele of learned readers the critical method and the great care and zeal with which the Mahabharta (महाभारत) the greatest Indian epic and epitome of Indian culture—is being edited by an untiring band of consummate scholars.

The excellent get-up, paper and prjnting of the book more than justify the price.

D. M. DATTA.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on Sunday the 22nd August, 1948.

Present:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha (in the Chair).
Dr. K. K. Dutta.
Dr. T. P. Chowdhury.
Khan Shahib Saiyid Hasan Askari.
Dr. S. C. Chatterji.
Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 18th January, 1948.

2. (a) Passed the monthly accounts for the months-January to July, 1948.

(b) Passed the following payments:—

		Rs.	A.	P.
(i)	Advance to E. I. Steel Works for 7 Steel Almirahs.	570	4	0
(ii)	Purchase of paper for Journal	122	0	0
(iii)	Indian Photo Engraving Co. for plates of Sept. Dec. issue Journal of 1947.	220	0	0
(iv)	T.A. to lecturerr at the Annual Meeting 1948.	114	2	0
(v)	Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co. Purchase of Books.	262	0	0
(vi)	Printing Charges of Annual Reports.	60	11	0
(vii)	Patna Law Press Printing Journal-March-June, 1947.	470	8	6
	Patna Law Press Printing Stationery.	29	8	3
	" " " Journal Sept. Dec. 1947.	337	12	0
(viii)	Messrs. B. H. Blackwells, Ltd. Purchase of Books.	18	12	6
(ix)	Hakluyt Society Subscription for 1948.	14	6	0
(x)	Royal India Society - Subscription for 1947 & 1948.	28	12	0

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		Rs.	As.	Ps.
(xi)	Pandit Anantlal Thakur for cataloguing Tibetan Mss.	70	0	0
(xii)	Ramkishun for binding 10 volumes.	20	0	0
(xiii)	Deputy Director of Surveys. Map in March-June 1948 Journal.	77	0	0
(xiv)	Messrs. B. H. Blackwell, Ltd.- Purchase of Books.	4	2	0

(c) Passed the Annual Account of the Society for 1947-48.

(d) Passed the Revised Budget for 1948-49 and the Budget Estimate for 1949-50.

(e) Resolved that the Council should consider the legal feasibility of converting the Bihar Research Society into a registered Society under relevant acts.

(f) Resolved that a Sub Committee be set up of Drs. S. C. Sarkar and Datta and Mr. Shere to prepare a plan for improvement of the Society's Journal and research activities and publications and other similar purposes., and to place it before a special meeting of the Council.

3. (i) Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society.

(a) Sri Gajendra Prasad Das, Advocate, Patna High Court.

(b) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Ramaswami, I. C. S., High Court, Patna.

(c) Sri Sasibhushan Sarma, M. A., Research Scholar, Patna.

(d) Sri Anantlal Thakur, M.A., P. K. Ray Memorial College, Katrasgarh.

(ii) Resolved that fresh forms be sent to (i) Babu Mathura Pd. Dikshit and (ii) Babu Jaideva Prasad M. L. A. for detailed filling in of the Academic and othe. qualifications.

(iii) Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. S C. Sarkar, Dr. Chowdhury and Mr. Shere go into

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the question of establishing certain conventions regarding admission to membership.

3. Read letter No. 1803 dated 15-6-1948 from the Librarian, Bombay University enclosing Dr. V. V. Gokhale's letter in connection with editing "Abhidharmakosakarika".
4. Resolved that the Editor-in Chief should try locally and elsewhere for the printing of Journal on terms between Rs. 50/- and Rs. 60/- per form.
5. Resolved that each of the two peons be granted an increase of Rs.2/8/-per moth in their living allowance and the expenditure be met from the Society's fund.
6. Resolved that Government be requested to furnish details of the National Commission.
7. Resolved that the Society, Virajananda Vaidic Samasthana be asked to approach the Society through the Ministry of Education, Government of India.
8. Rasolved that the Representative, British Council be requested to secure "Indian Art and Letters" either on exchange or free.

S. C. SARKAR.
Honorary General Secretary,
23-8-48.

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

Annual Account
1947-48

INCOME							EXPENDITURE						
Heads.	Actuals.			Revised Budget.			Heads.	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	As.	Ps.		Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Govt. Grant—													
Library ...	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0	Library ...	829	0	9	798	6	2
Establishment ...	1,000	0	0	1,456	0	0	Establishment ...	1,833	9	0	2,000	0	0
Journal ...	1,600	0	0	1,600	0	0	Journal ...	810	15	6	2,500	0	0
Postage Recovered ...	25	2	6				Postage ...	118	14	0	400	0	0
Subscription ...	1,299	14	0	900	0	0	Stationery ...	70	11	3	150	0	0
Sale Proceeds of Journal ...	1,062	13	0	79	12.	0	Electrical Charges ...	85	9	3	100	0	0
Miscellaneous ...	207	5	9				Miscellaneous ...	168	3	6	350	0	0
Interest on Public Account	142	10	0				Furniture ...	595	4	0	3,000	0	0
							Tibetan Scholar ...	139	8	0			
Opening Balance :—							Closing Balance						
Hathwa Fund ...	249	2	6	249	2	6	Hathwa Fund ...	249	2	6	249	2	6
Darbhanga Fund ...	430	14	3	430	14	3	Darbhanga Fund ...	430	14	3	430	14	3
Mayurbhanj Fund ...	210	14	9½	210	14	9½	Mayurbhanj Fund ...	210	14	9½	210	14	9½
Tibetan Account ...	505	9	9	503	9	9	Tibetan Account ...	503	9	9	503	9	9
Tibetan Scholar ...	1,318	4	0	1,318	4	0	Tibetan Scholar ...	1,178	12	0	1,178	12	0
General Balance ...	10,158	1	3½	10,158	1	3½	General Balance ...	11,983	11	3½	6,031	15	3½
TOTAL	19,208	11	10	17,903	10	7	TOTAL	19,208	11	10	17,903	10	7

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सप्तमोऽङ्कः

(नेपथ्ये) हा हा पुत्रि—हा वत्से—किमिदम् ?

पुत्रि मा साहसं कार्षीर्देयात्ते कमलापतिः ।
शाश्वतं ननु सौभाग्यं न चिरात्पतिमाप्स्यसि ॥ १

(प्रविश्य संभ्रान्ता)

चेटी—अम्मो कहं एसा भत्तिदारिआ उब्बंधणाय किदोज्जोआ असरीरिणीए भारदीए णिवारिज्जदि ! हा कहं एदाए पा स्सुदो अज्जदणो बुत्तन्तो १

(ततः प्रविशति पाशहस्ताऽशोकवृक्षतलस्था दमयन्ती)

दमयन्ती—हा कथं मन्दभागिन्यहं प्राणपरित्यागेपि नानुमता देवैः !

(उपसृत्य)

चेटी—भत्तिदारिए, को एसो तुह मिस विसाओ ? किं णु एदं ब्यवसिदं ? किं अज्जदणो बुत्तन्तो ण स्सुदोज्जेव ? २

दमयन्ती—अयि कः सः ?

चेटी—जं अज्ज क्खु महाराअस्स णाराअणपूअणं करिअ तदहिमुहं बहु बिलअन्तस्स एवं आआसबअणेण भअवदा अणुग्गहो किदो । ३ [संस्कृतमाश्रित्य] राजन्—

मास्म विक्लवतां प्रायः सत्वरं क्रियते मया ।
कोप्युपायो नलो येन प्राप्यते धीरतां व्रज ॥ २ ॥

दमयन्ती—हा निष्करुण विधे, कमपराधं संभाव्य नृशंसं बान्धवापसदं पुष्करं प्रयुज्येदृशीमवस्थां प्रापितस्त्वयार्यपुत्रः ?

चेटी—अलं बिसाएण । णणु लद्धा आशा । तं एहि भट्टिणी तुमं दट्ठुं इच्छदि । ४

दमयन्ती—[साक्षम्] क्वाम्बा साम्प्रतम् ?

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१. अहो कथमेवा भर्तृदारिका उद्बन्धनाय कृतोद्योगा अशरीरिण्या भारत्या निवार्यते ! हा कथमेतया न श्रुतोद्यतनो वृत्तान्तः ?

२. भर्तृदारिके क एष तव मृषा विश्वासः ? किन्वेतद्व्यवसितम् ? किमद्यतनो वृत्तान्तो न श्रुत एव ?

३. यदद्य खलु महाराजस्य नारायणपूजनं कृत्वा तदभिमुखं बहु विलम्बमानस्य एवमाकाश-वचनेन भगवता अनुग्रहः कृतः ।

४. अलं विषादेन । तनु लब्धा आशा । तदेहि, भट्टिनी त्वां द्रष्टुमिच्छति ।

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चेटी—प्पासादाब्भन्तरम्मि । १

दमयन्ती—ततस्तन्मार्गमादेशय ।

चेटी—इदो इदो भत्तिदारिआ । २

[निष्क्रान्ते]

विष्कम्भकः ।

[प्रविशति सरस्वती भीमश्च ।]

सरस्वती—वत्स, संदिष्टं च मां प्रहिणवता देवेन कैटभारिणा यदस्यैव रूपकस्य प्रयोगेण भवतो मनोरथः संपत्स्यते । (परितो विलोक्य) वत्स, समागत एव सदेवासुरगन्धर्वा मानवाः सदसि । तत्किमिति विलम्ब्यते ?

राजा—यथाह भगवती । (उच्चैः) भोभोः कुशीलवाः प्रवर्त्यतामिदानीमभिनयः ।

(प्रविश्य)

सूत्रधारः—

चक्रपाणिरसौ देवो जगतो मङ्गलं महत् ।
जयत्यनादिसंसारसूत्रधारो महामहाः॥३॥

भो भोः सामाजिकाः तस्यैव देवस्य निदेशादभ्युदितः करुणपावनः सारस्वतः प्रबन्धोऽयं लोकमङ्गलाय प्रयुज्यते ।

(नेपथ्ये)

हा महाराज ! हा त्रैलोक्यबन्धो ! हा आर्यपुत्र ! कथमिमां त्वदेकजीवितां दासीमुपेक्षसे ?

सूत्रधार :—(नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य) अहह कष्टमापतितम् ! महाराजनलस्य धर्मपत्नी—

शोकातिभारात्कलुषान्तरेयं तपात्ययादम्बुधिगामिनीव ।
भर्त्रा वियुक्ता विधृता सखीभ्यामाक्रीडमायाति मुहुः स्खलन्ती ॥ ४॥

(सखेदोद्वेगम्) हन्त न पारयेस्या इमामवस्थां साक्षात्कर्तुम् ! (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

(ततः प्रविशति सह सखीभ्यां यथानिर्दिष्टा दमयन्ती)

दमयन्ती—हा महाराज—(इत्यादि पठित्वा मूर्च्छति)

भीम :—हा वत्से कथमीदृशमवस्थान्तरमनुभवसि ? (इति मूर्च्छति)

सरस्वती—अयि वत्स, प्रेक्षणकमिदं किमितितरां विषीदसि ? (इति चेतनामुपनयति)

१, प्रासादाभ्यन्तरे ।

२, इतइतो भर्तृदारिका ।

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भीम :—भगवति, कथं प्रेक्षणकमिदं न भूतार्थः !

दमयन्ती—हा आर्यपुत्र, हा नाथ ! हा प्राणप्रिय ! हा सुकृतिकुलनयनचन्द ! चन्दाकरकुलोत्तंस !

मनुजपशुना तेन द्यूतोपधेः सकले हृते
जलधिवलये राज्ये प्राज्येन मन्युभरेण यत् ।
नगरमनुजैर्दृष्टः शोकाकुलं बहिरागतो
विपिनमगमस्तस्य स्मृत्वा मनो मम ताम्यति ॥ ५ ॥

किंच—तदा बुभुक्षाकुलितो मराला-
न्विलोक्य हैमान्ग्रहणाय तेषाम् ।
उपर्युपाक्षिप्य निजान्तरीयं
नभः प्रयातेषु च तेषु खिन्नः ॥ ६ ॥
अङ्गानि यत्कौमवरोचितानि
ममार्धवस्त्रेण कथं कथंचित्
व्रीडानमन्मौलि तिरोदधस्त-
द्यापि ते निर्दहतीव चेतः ॥ ७ ॥
(दीर्घं निश्वस्य) हा प्राणनाथ मम मानद दैवदोषा-
द्विस्रब्धमाकलितसुप्तिसुखं विहाय् ।
दासीमिमां विदलितार्द्धदुकूलवासाः
कां कां दशामधिगतोसि वनान्तरेषु ॥ ८ ॥
(सापस्मारमिव) हा महाराज—
शार्दूलदारितकुरङ्गकुले भ्रमित्वा-
ऽरण्येतितान्तचरणाम्बुरुहो दिनान्ते ।
दास्यानया विरहितो व्यथमानचेता-
रात्रिं कथं सह मृगैरनयः सुदीर्घाम् ॥ ९ ॥ (इति मूर्च्छति)

भीम :—हा वत्से, सम्प्रति न शक्तोस्मि । अभिभवति मां विमोहः (इति मूर्च्छति)

सरस्वती—(चेतनामुपनीय) वत्स कियद्वदामि प्रेक्षणकमिदम् ।

भीम :—भगवति, यत्किञ्चिदस्तु न पारये द्रष्टुम् ।

सरस्वती—ननु शुभोस्योदर्कं इति भगवता समादिष्टं तत्किं विषीदसि ?

सरव्यौ—(चेतनामुपनीय) हा सहि केत्तिअं दूरं खेदावेसि अत्ताणम् । १

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१. हा सखि कियद्दूरं खेदयसि आत्मानम् ।

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दमयन्ती—(अश्रुत्वैव)

हा नाथ हा सकलभूतलरत्नराज
नद्यापि यापितबहुव्यसनां दयार्द्रैः।
आश्वासनस्य वचनैरमृतोपमार्हैं-
र्हा हन्त हन्त परिबर्द्धयसे न किं माम् ॥१०॥

(सावष्टम्भम्) अथवा किमत्र निरागसं महाराजमुपलभे। ममैव दौर्भाग्यविलसितमिदं सकलम्।

(सविषादम्) भो हतविधे, किं नाम तत्र निर्जने वने विचरन्तीं माम्—

१
व्यालेन तेन समवर्त्ति गृहप्रकोष्ठ
द्वारप्रभं वदनमुद्वहता निगीर्णाम्।
संमोच्य पारपरिवर्जितदुःखवार्धौ
निक्षिप्तवानसि दयामपहाय दूरम् ॥११॥

(सविमर्शम्) अथवा कोत्र दैवस्य दोषः। सव्यालएव पातकिनीं मामर्द्धनिगीर्णमेव घृणया मुखादपाकृतवान्। हा भगवन्सुदेव, त्वयापि नानुकम्पितेयं दुःखभागिनी। किं मां मातृष्वसुर्गृहे वह्निप्रवेशमहोत्सवमनुभवितुं समुद्यतामकस्मादेव पित्रोर्विक्लवतामुपश्रुत्य समानीतवानसि। (इति मूर्च्छति)

सरय्वौ—(चिरमुपवीज्य) हद्धी कहंण अज्ज वि उज्जिब्बइ। ता सुद्धन्तं ज्जेव प्पविसामः। २

उभे—(संस्कृतमाश्रित्य)

हा सोमवंशाङ्कुरनैषधेन्द्र, प्राणांस्त्यजन्तीं दयितां तवेमाम्।
किं नाम नाश्वासयसे समेत्य द्यूते हृता ते करुणापि किंवा ॥ १२ ॥

(इति पठन्त्यौ रुदत्यौ कथंचिद्दमयन्तीमवष्टभ्य निष्क्रान्ते)

गर्भाङ्कः।

भीमः—हा कथं नैवोज्जीविता वत्सा। [इति मूर्च्छति]

सरस्वती—(चेतनामुपनयति)

(नेपथ्ये कलकलानन्तरम्)

हंहो—जन्मान्तरे पि 'भवतीं' दयितां लभेय
भीमावनीन्द्रतनुजे विगलद्वियोगम्।
इत्यालपन्स गतवानृतुपर्णनाम्नो
भूपस्य सारथिरनैषधमेव मोहम् ॥ १३

---

१. समवर्त्ती—यमराजः

२. हा धिक् कथं नाद्यापि उज्जीवति। तत् शुद्धान्तमेव प्रविशावः।

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सर्वे—(सविस्मयमाकर्णयन्ति)

भीमः सरस्वती च—(ससम्भ्रममुत्थाय) हन्त किमिदं स्यात्? कथितं च ह्यः कमलया वत्साया: सख्या यथा ऋतुपर्णस्य राज्ञो रथघोषमनुकरोतीति तद्गत्वा पश्यामः (इति परिक्रामतः)

(ततः प्रविशति सारथिभ्यां वीज्यमानो मूर्च्छितो विरुपोनलः)

सारथी—इद्धी कहं अज्जवि ण उच्छसिदि! १

(उपसृत्य)

सरस्वतीभीमौ—(सविमर्शम्) हा कथमिदं रूपान्तरमधिगतो वत्सः! (उपवीज्य) हा कथं नोज्जीवति!

भीमः—हा वत्स, क्वासि गतः? हा भगवन् मधुसूदन, किमिदमुपन्यस्तम्? हा भगवति भारति एष ते रूपकार्थः! (मूर्च्छितः)

सरस्वती—आश्वसितु वत्सः। सर्वं शुभमेव भावि।

(आकाशात्प्रविश्य)

नारदः—भोभोः अन्तः पुरचारिणः परिचारकाः—

आदेशादित एव दानवरिपोर्भैमी समानीयताम्।
(उच्चैः) आतोद्यादि च मङ्गलं पुरजनैः स्वैरं समारभ्यताम्।
(सहर्षातिरेकम्) उत्तीर्णो निषधाधिपोयमधुना दीर्घाममूमापदम्।
(सोत्कण्ठम्) जातं सम्प्रति भूतलं किमथवा त्रैलोक्यमेवोज्ज्वलम्॥ १४॥

(ततः प्रविशति सखीभ्यां धार्यमाणा कृशाङ्गी करुणरसाधिदेवतेव दारकाभ्यामनुगता भैमी)

नारदः—(कमण्डलूदकेन नलं सिञ्चति)

नलः—(उत्थाय पादयोः पतति नारदस्य)

नारदः—वत्स, उत्तिष्ठ, नागराजेन कर्कोटकेन वितीर्णं वस्त्रं परिधत्स्व। (नलः तथा करोति)

(सर्वे सविस्मयं तस्य पूर्वं रूपं पश्यन्ति)

दमयन्ती—(दारकौ प्रति) (साश्रुम्) वत्सौ प्रणमतं चिराद्दृष्टस्य तातस्य चरणौ।

(दारकौ तथा कुरुतः)

नारदः—वत्स नल, इयं भगवती भारती अयं च ते श्वशुरः तदिमौ प्रणम।

नलः—(सरस्वत्याः पादयोः पतित्वा) भगवति अयं दासो वैरसेनिः प्रणिपतति।

सरस्वती—(उत्थाप्य) वत्स चिराय जगतो मङ्गलं भूयाः।

---

१. हा धिक्। कथमद्यापि नोच्छ्वसिति!

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नलः—(भीमं प्रणमति)

भीमः—(उत्थाप्य) वत्स चिराय ते देवो मधुसूदनः क्षेमं दिश्यात् ।

(प्रविश्य)

वार्ष्णेयः—महाराज, देशं हित्वा पुष्करः पलायितः ।

सर्वे—प्रियं नः प्रियम् । नष्टः स द्यूतकरोधमः ।

भीमः—(दमयन्तीं प्रति) वत्से भगवतीं महर्षिं च प्रणम

(मैमी तथा करोति)

उभौ—वत्से अवियुक्ता दयितेन चिरं वसुधाराज्यसुखमनुभूयाः ।

सरस्वती—वत्स वैरसेने, किन्ते भूयः प्रियमुपकरोमि ।

नलः—भगवति किमतः परं प्रियमस्ति—

प्राप्ता त्रिलोकतिलकत्वमिता प्रियेयं
दुःखाम्बुधिश्च सुमहान्परितीर्ण एषः ।
नष्टो रिपुर्जलधिपारविसारि किं च
साम्राज्यमाप्तमतुलो हि तव प्रसादः ॥ १५ ॥
तथापीदमस्तु ! (भरतवाक्यम्)
भूयाद्रूपकमुत्तमं परिमलैरानन्दयन्सज्जना-
नेतत्सूरिमिलिन्दमानसमुदे वृन्दारकैर्वन्दितम् ।
शुभ्रेन्दीवरदामसुन्दरतरं वन्दारुवृन्दे परं
दाक्षिण्यं दधतः सदा करुणया नारायणस्य प्रभोः ॥ १६ ॥

(इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

जनकचरणचिन्तावाप्तविज्ञानलेशो-
व्यधित यदतिहृद्यं सूरिरामावतारः ।
रसभरपरिपूर्णे नाटके सप्तमोऽस्मि-
न्व्यगलदनवशेषक्षीणपङ्कोऽयमङ्कः ॥ १७ ॥
समाप्तमिदं धीरनैषधम् ॥

———

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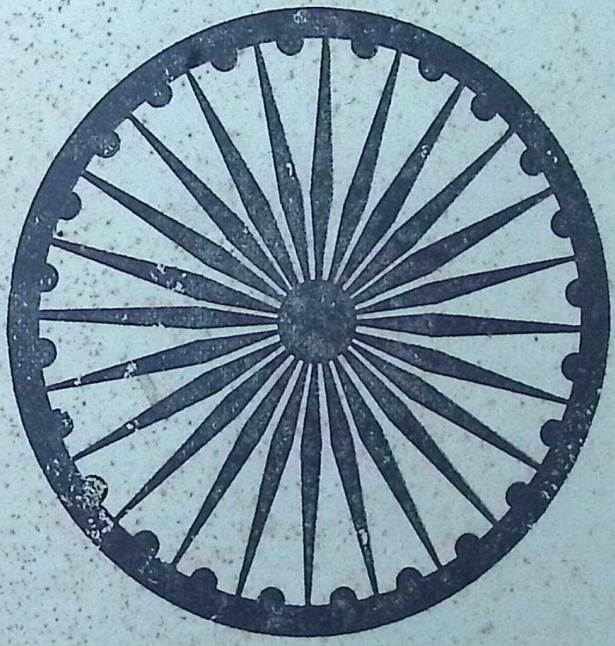

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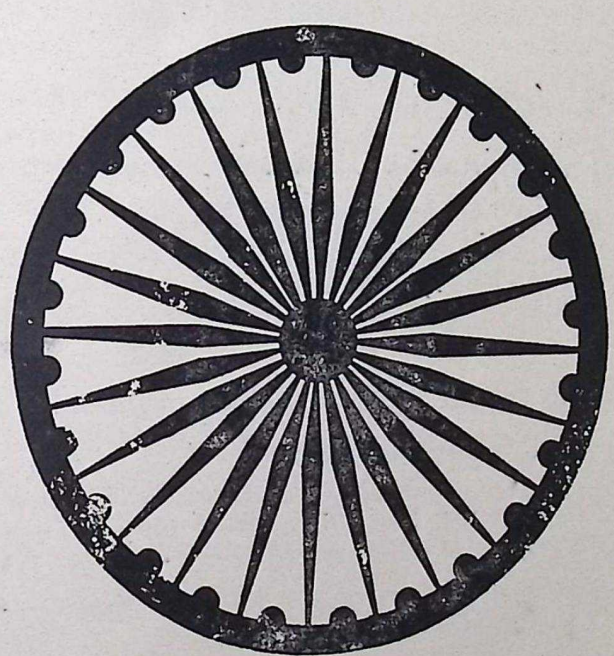

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SASANKA

By

Dr. B.P. Sinha, M.A. Ph.D (Lond.), Patna College.

(1) The origins of Sasanka

The lineage and the early history of Sasanka have been regarded as absolutely obscure and therefore have been the subject of numerous speculations. From the Harsacarita we learn that Rajyavardhana was killed by the king of Gauda. The king of Gauda according to one manuscript of the Harsacarita was named Narendragupta (1) According to Yuan Chwang, Sasanka the king of Karnas uvarna in eastern India, killed Rajyavardhana. Therefore it can hardly be contestsd that Sasanka was the king of Gauda, and if we rely on the solitary authority of the manuscript quoted by Buhler, then Narendragupta migh have been a second name for Sasanka. Nagendra Nath Vasu thinks that the king of Gauda, who killed Rajyavardhana was Narendragupta and Sasanka was his 'Mahasamanta' (2) But this is impossible, because the Chinese pilgrim makes a definite and positive statement that Sasanka the king of Karnasuvarna killed Rajyavardhana and besides this there is no place for a Narendragupta in the 7th century A.D. in the history of Madhyadesa.

Some scholars have tried to connect Sasanka with the Guptas. Vidyavinoda takes him to be the son of Maha-

(1) On Yuan Chwang (Watters), I., P. 34.
(2) Social History of Kamarupa III, quoted by K. L. Barua in JARS. Ip. 97.

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senagupta (1). Bannerji suspected that probably 'he belonged to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha', and 'both he and Devagupta of Malava probably tried to restore the prestige of the Gupta dynasties of India immediately after the death of Prabhakaravardhana' (2). The same provenance and the similarity of the coins of Sasanka with those of the later imperial Gupta -e.g. Kumara Gupata III led Bannerji to this conclusion. (3) But there is no real basis for this suspicion. Alliance between Devagupta and Sasanka against their common enemies, the Maukharis and their allies the Vardhanas does not, and should not, suggest any blood-relationship, between Sasanka and Devagupta. Similarity in the style and provenance of the coins do not necessarily prove any family kinship between the Guptas and Sasanka On the same grounds Bhattasali connects Sasanka with Samacaradeva. (4) The existence of the Rohtasagarh seal matrix does not prove any connection between Sasanka and Mahasenagupta or the imperial Guptas. On his coins we have 'nandidhvaja' instead of 'garudadhavaja' as commonly found on the Gupta coins. There is not even an indirect hint in the inscriptions of his feudatories about his alleged connection with the Guptas, which was certainly a point of special honour not to be missed by his vassals when the latter were eulogising their sovereign overlord. No allusion to this suspicion is even indirectly made in the Harsacarita when it refers to the king of Guada on many occasions. Raychaudhuri (5) rightly remarks that "there is no reason to believe that Sasanka belonged to the Gupta family, even if he had a secondary name, Narendragupta."

Bhattasali's suggestion that Sasanka was the son and successor of Maharajadhiraja Samacaradeva is equally

(1) Kamarupa Sasanavali, P. 15 (intro.)
(2) History of Orissa I, p, 129.
(3) Ibid : B. I. p. 105.
(4) JASB. (N. S.) XIX. Num. Sup., P. 54 Nff.
(5) P. H. A. I. (4th edn.), P. 514, toot note.
(6) Barua (Early History of Kamrupa, p. 60) comes to the same conclusion. He adds another reason that as Sasanka was a persecutor of Budhism he could not belong to the Gupta dynasty, which was a follower of the policy of religious toleration.

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uncceptable. The grounds on which this startling theory is based are that (a) a Rajalila type of coin of Samacaradeva was found with a gold coin of Sasanka (b) both Samacaradeva and Sasanka were Saivas and have the bull on their coins, and (c) Allan holds that the coins which have Narendraditya on the reverse are earlier than those of (1) Sasanka. But all these grounds are weak and untenable. With a coin of Sasanka and the Rajalila type coin of Samacaradeva were also found the coins of Candra Gupta II, Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta (2), but because of this nobody would hazard the theory that Narendraditya I.E. Samacardeva as proved by Bhattasali (Loc. cit.), belonged to the Gupta dynasty. Sasanka certainly came after Samacaradeva and he may or may not have conquered Eastern Bengal, but this can never point to the conclusion that therefore Sasanka was the son and successor of Samacardeva as by such reasoning any conqueror would become the descendant of the vanquished. As for the similarity of the coins of Sasanka with those of Samacaradeva it is important to note the difference as well. We have only one coin (Archer type) of Samacaradeva which has a bull standard on the reverse. His other coin is of Rajalila type and it has no sign of 'nandi-dhvaja' or any symbol connceted with Siva. Therefore it is obvious that the 'nàndi-dhvaja' or bull-standard was no exclusive and permanent specific feature of the coinage of Samacaradeva Narendraditya. But on all the specimens of the coins of Sasanka (3) we have

(1) CCGDBM. Intro. plxi, cxxiv, p. 149-50. Allan read 'Narendraditya' on the reverse on both the coins, while on the obverse on the archer type he read 'saha' or 'sama' or 'yama' (ibid. p. cxxiv.) ; wLile on the 'Rajalila' type he read 'yama' ? dha', on the obverse : Smith (C. I. M. Ip. 120. No. 1) read read on the archer type coin speclfied 'uncertain', 'ca' between the feet on the obverse, and possibly 'Narendravinata' on the reverse and on the other designated as 'Throned-king type' i. e. Rajalila type (ibid p. 122 No. 1. Pl. XVI. 13) he read 'yama' on tha obverse and Narendraditya. According to R. D. Bannerji the name of the king on both the coins is 'yama' and the reverse legend is Narendravinata. Bhattasali (loc. cit.) has conclusively proved that the two coins belong to Samacaradeva Narendraditya, who is the same as Maharajadhiraja Samacaradeva who issued a copper-plate grant found in the Faridpur district of eastern Bengal (JRAS VII. N. S. p. 475 ff).

(2) CCGDBM. pcxxvii.

(3) CCGDBM. pp. 147-48 ; C. I. M. I., pp 121-22.

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the 'bull' on the obverse with the moon and the image of Siva This certainly leads to the conclusion that the Nandi-symbol was a distinct and specific characteristic of the coinage of Sasanka. Moreover it is interesting and necessary to note the vital difference between the Bull-standard coin of Samacaradeva and the coins of Sasanka The coin of the former has been described by Allan as follows :- Archer type, wt. 148.2 grs., obverse the king standing on left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Bull (nandi) on left, beneath, left arm 'sa ha (?) ca', no traces of marginal legend; reverse, Goddess (Laksmi) nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand and fillet in out-stretched right hand, symbol (?) on left. Sri Narendraditya (1). No coin of Sasanka exceeds 145.6 grains in wieght. (2) The coins of Sasanka have been described by Allan as follows :- obverse, Siva nimbate, reclining to left on bull (nandi) to left, with left hand uplifted, holding uncertain object; moon (Sasanka) above on left, on right Sri Sa, below Jaya; reverse goddess (Laksmi) nimbate seated facing on Lotus, holding lotus in left hand which rests on knee, and with outstretched right hand empty; above on either side elephant sprinlking water over her (abhiseka), no symbol; on right Sri Sasanka" (3) The difference would be obvious to all. The 'bull' with Siva and the moon on the obverse and the elephant sprinkling water on the goddess on either side on the reverse are features distinguishing these coins from the coins of Samacaradeva.

The most serious objection against the theories that connect Sasanka with the Guptas or Samacradeva is that Sasanka was a Gauda (4) and neither the Guptas nor Samacaradeva nor his predecessors Dharmaditya and

(1) CCGDBM., p. 149.
(2) Ibid, pp. 147-48 : C. I. M. I. pp. 121-22.
(3) CCGDBM., p. 147.
(4) The murderer of Rajyavardhana is called 'gaudadhipa' 'gaudadhama', 'dustagaudabhujanga' (H. C. (parab) pp. 187, 188, 192): and 'the vilest of the Gaudas' (H. C. CT. p. 180) 'Gauda-serpent' (ibid, p. 185 . Hasa promised to clear this earth of the Gaudas' (ibid, p. 187), "nirgaudam na karomi medinim" (Parab. p. 194). All these quotations make it clear that the Sasanka the murderer of Rajyavardhana, was a Gauda' or a native of Gauda, otherwise there was no reason to abuse the whole people.

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Gopacandra are ever referred to as 'Gauda' in the inscriptions. The coins of Sasanka may in style and provenance be common with the coins of the imperial Guptas, but the designs on the obverse and reverse of the coins of Sasanka disprove any dynastic connection between him and the Gupats. Majumdar suspected some relationship between Sasanka and the Mana chiefs. (1) But there is absolutely no real basis for this suggestion. Much more absurd is the opinion of Gosavi (2) that as there is a Mriganka in the Varman dynasty of Kamarupa, so Sasanka may be a prince of the Varman dynasty, probably a cousin of Bhaskaravarman. It needs no comment at all.

We proceed to discuss now the relationship between Sasanka and Jayanaga. Jayanaga issued the Vappaghosavata grant from Karnasuvarna (3) The gold coins of Jaya should be rightly attributed to Jayanaga. The period that elapsed between Jayanaga and Sasanka, both kings of Gauda, could not be long, as is clear in the context of the history of the period, and the characters on the coins and inscriptions. A comparative study of the coins of Jayanaga and Sasanka confirms our suspicion that there was some sort of close relationship between the two and the one followed the other almost immediately. In Allan's expert opinion "the issuer of the coins which bear the reverse legend 'sri prakandayasah and have 'jaya' beneath the king's arm on the obverse may be connected with Sasanka." After comparing the coins of 'Jaya' and Sasanka the learned scholar concludes, "It is clear from the resemblance of the reverses that the coins of Jaya and Sasanka are closely connected" (4) Naga appears to be an appeallation of Jaya and there is no trace of 'gupta' on his coins (2). It may be of some significance to note that Sasanka or the Gauda kkng who killed Rajyavardhana is at numerous places in the Harasacarita compared to a

(1) JAHRS. X., pp. 1ff.
(2) JARS. II., p. 12.
(3) E. I. XVIII pp. 60 ff.
(4) CCGDBM. PCV.
(2) ibid., pp. 150-51.

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serpent (1). Jayanaga and Sasanka were associated with Karnasuvarna as the capital of their kingdom, and while Sasanka is called the king of Gauda in the Harsacarita Jayanaga is probably referred to as 'Gaudaraja' in the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa. (2) Sasanka is referred to as belonging to ths Brahmana caste, and Jayanaga is also said to belong to the same caste (3) All these facts prove that Sasanka and Jayanaga were closely related to one another. But the nature of the exact relationship between the two can only be guessed. Except for the reference to a 'Gaudaraja Nagaraja with 'Jaya' as the beginning of his name in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa soon after Sasanka (4), there is no positive evidence that Jayanaga followed Sasanka. Though Jayasval has not taken this passage to refer to to Jayanaga (he takes it to allude to a much earlier period (5), we may agree with Majumdar (6) in regarding the verse as referring to Jayanaga. The M.N.K. is at many places confused as regards chronology and details. At one place it says that Sasanka was a brahmana and in anothere it asserts that the murderer of Rajyavardhana was of a low caste (7). Then from the same source it appears that Jayanaga was earlier than Soma (Sasanka) and that Jaynaga had made war in Orisssa, and after him there was a division of Gauda-tanrta between Sasanka and another man (8). In view of such contradictory remarks and the perfunctory nature of the work, we may not be correct in arriving at any conclusion as to who followed the other. But one thing is clear : if we believe that Jayanaga preceded Sasanka, we can rely on the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa as much or as little as the other side.

(1) H. C. Text (Parab) "vritha vitatavipulaphanabharo bhujangana bhartta bibharti yo bhogena mritpindameva kevalam" p. 191, probably refers to Sasanka or his government (CT. p. 183. fn. 8.) ; dustagaudabhujanga (Parab, p. 192), (H. C. CT. p. 185.) It has to be admitted that nowhere in the Harsacarita is Sasanka compared to a serpent by the term 'naga'.
(2) I. H. I., p. 55 (Text) v. No. 754.
(3) ibid.
(4) I. H. I., p. 50 text) v. No. 750.
(5) ibid, p. 51.
(6) H. B. R. I., p.
(7) I. H. I., p. 50.
(8) Ibid p. 66, Text p. 62, v. No. 829 B., 829 c.

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Our plea that Jayanaga was follow3d by Sasanka and not vice versa is not against numismatic evidence. Accroding to Allan (1) "the base gold coins which bear the name Jaya cannot be earlier than the end of the sixth Century A.D." It may be of some significance that the coins of 'Jaya-', having the average of 136 grains in weight, are lighter than those of Sasanka, whose average weight is 145.8 grains (2). As generally accepted, the lighter coins of Jaya-may be earlier than the heavier ones of Sasanka. As against this it may be pointed out that the light weight 'is due to the fact that they are of very base metal' (3), and that Cunnignham has shown that coins of 'Jaya-(gupta ?) are much more alloyed than those of Sasanka. On this ground Bhattasali (4) held that Jayanaga must have come later. Debasement of metal in the coins, though generally it may suggest a later period in comparison with coins of better metal, can never be taken as necessarily later as a univerasal rule. Coins of Prakasaditya (5), whom we have indentified with Budha Gupta (6), are much better than the coins of some of his predecessors as regards the fineness of the metal. Then we have a coin of Sasanka (7) which for its purity of metal is unique not only among his own coins but also among the coins of the most of the later imperial Guptas like Kumara Gupta III and Vishu Gupta Candraditya. Cunningham had very few coins of Jayanaga and Sasanka at his disposal, and therefore his conclusion about the percentage of the pure metal and alloy may not be very reliable. We have some of the coins of Sasanka in the British Museum which are more debased than those of Jayanaga. Some of the coins of Sasanka are so thoroughly debased that they are actually of copper with a plating of silver, and had a thin wash of

(1) CCGDBM. p. CIV.
(2) ibid, p. CXXIV.
(3) ibid.
(4) CM. I
(5) JASB. (N. S.) XXI, Num. Supp. pp. N 6 ff.
(6) CGDBM. pp. 135-36.
(7) See supra.
(6) CCGDMB. p. 148 (612) Pl. XXIV, 2.

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gold over it, and must have circulated as gold coins. The better quality of Sasanka's coins may reflect a more prosperous period for the kingdom than was the case in the time of Jayanaga. The existence of the Seal-matrix of Mahasamanta Sasankadeva at Rohtasgarh in South Bihar may be used to strengthen our contention that Sasanka was a Gauda and came after Jayanaga. Sen (1) held that Sasanka began his career as a Mahasamanta in Magadha', and, 'this post he held probably under Avantivarman, the father of Sarvavarman'. He further observed that" in this capacity be may have exercised some sort of control over the Varmans of Gaya ; whose status does not seem to have been higher than that of a Samanta". He concluded, "Sasanka was as yet only a high official, but the edifice of his future greatness was reared on this comparatively obscure basis and after the defeat of Avantivarman by the Calukays, he made himself master of Magadha.....and swooped down upon Pundravardhana immediately after the death of Mahasenagupta." But the story suggested is highly improbable. The Varmans, of Gaya were certainly earlier in time than the imperial Maukharis in Magadha. The enemy of Mangalesa Calukya was more probably Mahasenagupta not Avantivarman. The Sulikas of the Haraha inscription may not have been Calukyas. The most serious flaw in this imaginative story is that Mahasenagupta after his defeat at the hands of the Maukharis was not ruling in Pundravardhan but in Malwa. On the same grounds we have to reject the theory of Ganguli (2) that Sasanka was the high feudatory of Magadha under the Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman, and later on, he conquered Magadha and invaded Gauda, and therefore he was a native of Magadha and successful conqueror of Gauda (Bengal). Really it is difficult to understand the description of a Magadhan origin to Sasanka. If he was a native of Magadha, it would have beem more natural for him to keep the centre of his kindom in Magadha, the country of glorious imperial traditions, than to

(1) Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal p. 261.

(2) I. H. Q. XII., pp. 456 f.

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make Karnasuvarna in Bengal his capital. Majumdar held that Sasanka was a feudatory of Mahasenagupta, who rewarded his valuable help in his war against the Varman king of Kamarupa (1). But we have already shown the weakness of the theory as it makes us presume the reconquest of Magadha form the Maukharis by Mahasenagupta, a very remote possibility, as we know that Mahasenagupta's family must have suffered some serious calamity, as his sons were acting as attendants on Rajyavardhana and Harsavardhana. Much more improbable is Barua's suggestion that Mahasenagupta reconquered Nothern and Central Bengal from the king of Kamarupa, and appointed Sasanka as Mahasamanta over this region, and that after the death of Mahasenagupta Sasanka delcared himself independent. (2) Ssanka was the Mahasamanta in Magadha, not in Northern and Central Bengal.

Thus we find that we have no real basis to connect Sasanka with the Guptas or the Maukharis. Sasanka was a Gauda and Jayanaga was also a king of Gauda. It appears to be very plausible that Sasanka was appointed as Mahasamanta of Magadha by Jayanaga, who extended his authority over Magadha. In the history of Magadha as known from Yuan Chwang, inscriptions and literature, there is no place for a powerful king like Jayanaga, in the period following Sasanka. After Sasanka we have to place Purnavarman, Harsa and Madhavagupta in Magadha. Therefore if Jaynaga could ever be connected with Magadha, as certainly was the case, then he must have come before Sasanka. This fact receives unexpected corroboration from the coins of Sasanka. These coins (3) have in the obverse legends "Sri Sa' and below it 'Jaya', not 'Jayah' as Cunningham read it (4). It is clear from the the coins that the legend 'Jaya' is complete by itself and is not a part of any fuller legend. It is exactly in the same

(1) HBR. 1. p, 59.

(2) Early History of Kamarupa p. 58-59.

(3) CCGDBM. pp. 147-48.

(4) C. M. I. p. 15.

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form and characters as 'Jaya' on the coins of Jayanaga. It is a very general practice to have the name of the ruling king on the obverse of the coins, and therefore the legend 'Sri Sa' certainly stands for Sasanka, and Jaya for Jayanaga. It is quite possible that Sasanka was the yuvaraja of Jayanaga and was associated with the government in the lifetime of Jayanaga, as was very common in ancient India. The coins of Sasanka may have originated in this way and continued later on, just to recall Jayanaga with gratitude. It is certainly a rare example, but on the coins of the Kalacuri king Krisnaraja we have the legend "parama-mahesvara mata-pitri-padhanudhyata sri-Krisnaraja' (1). Sasanka may have advanced farther and put the name of his predecessor on his coins. A serious objection against the Hypothesis proposed above may be raised : from his coins Jaynaga appears to be a devotee of Visnu (2), as on these we have the 'cakra' standard and the king with bow and arrow, while Sasanka was a Saiva, as is clear from his coins with the image of Siva, the Bull and the Moon, and also from the account of Yuan Chwang (3). It is quite possible that Sasanka may not have been a son of Jayanaga. He might have belonged to a different family, and may have become the 'Yuvaraja' or the 'regent' of the empire under the old king Jayanaga. Sasanka being the viceroy of Magadha must have been the most powerful figure in the kingdom, and therefore it could not have been difficult for him to make himself the architect of the Gauda Empire. Thus the comparative study of the coins of Sasanka and Jayanaga suggests that Sasanka followed Jayanaga. Wheather it was a peaceful succession or otherwise cannot be said at present. Sasanka may have been an usurper, and therefore continued to put the name of Jayanaga on his coins to impress on the people that succession from Jayanaga was direct and legitimate. It is significant that on some of the coins of Sasanka there is no mention of 'Jaya'

(1) I. A. XIV, p. 68 ; JNSIII, pp. 2 lf.

(2) CCGDBM. pp. 150-51.

(3) WATTERS II p. 116.

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(1). Such coins (2) may have been issued in the later years of Sasanka when his position was secure in Gauda.

The later history of Sasanka shows that he was a man of restless energy and unbounded ambition. He would have been certainly the last person to be satisfied with the subordinate status of a 'Mahasamanta', specially when as a viceroy he controlled a larger and also more important territory than the overlord. Therefore his anixiety to become the master of the Gauda empire may easily be understood. But as a wise statesman he acted with moderation, and even when he became the real master of the kingdom he continued to show honour to Jayanaga by stamping his name with his own on his coins. It may be that the people of the empire might have welcomed the succession or usuraption of Sasanka after the old king Jayanaga, who was a contemporary of Sarvavarman and Mahasengupta, at a time when ryoal soverignty was not stable with one person in Northern India, as hinted by Bana, (3) and specially when the Maukharis, ousted from Magadha by the Gaudas, must have been feeling sore.

(ii) *Tye accession and conquests of Sasanka*

In view of the paucity of materials at our disposal, it is impossible to state in detail the exact course of events of Sasanka's assumption of the soverignty of the Gauda empire. It is very unfortunate that while his rival Harsa had Bana and a sympathetic Yuan Chwang to paint his life in rosy colours, Sasanka, who is in no way inferior to Harsa in achievements and statecraft, had only prejudiced authors to tell his incomplete and distorted story. In view of the fact that Sasanka was dead before 637 A.D., and is known to have been ruling in 619 A.D., we may not be wrong in assuming that he came to occupy the throne at

(1) CCGDBM., p. 148. No. 612, Pl. XXIV.

(2) This coin is much lighter in weight than others and is of very fine metal. On this coin on the obverse Allan hesitantly reads 'Jaya'?, but I had the privilege to examine the coin with Mr. Allan and the legend is certainly not Jaya, and Allan agrees with this remark. Allan considers the coin to be a contemporary imitation. There is another coin of Sasanka in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the obverse of which, Smith hesitatingly reads 'Saja'. Its weight is 145.6 the usual average weight of Sasanka's coins.

(3) H. C. (CT) p. 168, 'Sri' the goddess of sovereigntly is roaming'.

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Karnasuvarna in about 602 A.D. when we know that he was contemporary of Harsa in 606 A.D. The prosperity of Gauda under Sasanka is indirectly proved by the coins, which are of finer metal than those of Jayanaga, and one of them is 'unique for its purity of metal, fabric and weitht.' The reverses of the coins of Jaya-and Sasanka treat the same subject the abhiseka (1) but on the coins of Jaya we have ouly one elephant sprinlking water on the Laksmi, while on the coins of Sasanka we have elephants on either side. Does this suggest greater power and pomp of Sasanka?

Sasanka was a powerful king ruling over a vast t territory. This is, indirectly of course, attested by Bana, Yuan Chwang, and M.M.K.. The various inscriptions of the time which have lately come to light show that his empire was extensive. The style and the provenance of his coins tell the same story. Between 602 A.D., when he came to the tnrone, and 606 A.D., when he killed Rajyavardhana, he appears to have made his weight felt in the countries of Dandabhukti, Utkala and Ganjam. He was master of Magadha and controlled almost the whole of Bengal.

From the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II, dated the Gupta year 300 (-619-20 A.D.) we know that Sasanka was recognised as the 'Maharajadhiraja' in Kongudha (Ganjam) mandala at that time (2). There can be no doubt that the Maharajadhiraja Sasanka of the Ganjam plates was the same Sasanka who killed Rajyavardhana. The stages before the conquest of the Ganjam district of Orissa were not known. In the absence of any proof of the authority of Sasanka over the northern part of Orissa, it was a matter of speculation whether Sasanka controlled the modern districts of Balasore and Cuttack, through which he must have passed for advancing to the Ganjam region. B.C. Majumdar realised how difficult it was for Narendragupta (Sasanka) to come 'upon Puri without traversing the districts of Balasore and Cuttuck,' and how could he, from his seat in Bengal,'keep the Kongada co-country under his rule when the northern portions of Orissa

(1) CCGDBM. p. CV.
(2) E. I. Vl. pp. 143 ff.

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were under the rule of another house of rulers.' To meet the difficulty he was constrained to suggest that Sasanka may have swooped down upon Kongoda (Ganjam) through the road from Bengal to Puri through Dalbhum and the hill tracts of Orissa. (1) But fortunately we are now in a position to state that Sasanka took the usual and more convenient route from Bengal to Ganjam, through the districts of Midnapur and Balasore. From the two cooper plates of Sasanka's time found in Midnapur (2) it is clear that Sasanka was master of Dandabhukti and Utkala (Northern Orissa). These plates are dated, but most fortunately the dates are very difficult to decipher. Majumdar (3) reads the year 19 or 309 (G.E.) on the first plate and the year 8 on the second. He takes the dates to refer to the period of the office of the feudatories and not to the regnal year of the sovereign. This is very unusual. We feel that the plates must have been dated in the regnal years of the overlord Sasanka. The numerical figures on the first plate are very unusual, and nothing of the king appear on the inscriptions of the Guptas or even on those from Nepal The first numeral appears to resemble the first numeral of the date of the inscription of Buddharaja (4), and the latter has been read as denoting '300'. On this analogy the first letter denoting the date on the first plate of Sasanka may be read as '300'. But it may be stated that there is also some difference between the two as will be clear from the examination of the plates in question. Because of similarity between this letter with the first letter signifying the days of the month in the same plate (5), Majumdar read it as '10'. But he was aware of the difference between the two. The second numeral which is very probably the sign for 'la', has been read by the learned scholar to be '9', on the analogy of the Paharpur plate, where the same letter has been read by Dikshit to mean '9' (6). In the Svalpa-Vetura grant of Ganga

(1) B. C. Majumdar—Orissa in the Making, pp. 110.
(2) JASB (Letters) Xl. p. 1 ff.
(3) ibid.
(4) E. I. XII p. 30 f.
(5) JASBL. Xl. p. lff. (Letters).
(6) E. I. XX pp. 161 ff.

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Anantavarman, the numeral 'la' has been read as '9'. (1) But it may be pointed out that neither of the learned scholars has cited any authority for reading '9' from the sign 'la' . The numeral 'la' has been read as '3' in line 26 of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. Buhler read it for 3 in the Jirjinji grant of Indravaman (2). Subbarao, (3), D.C. Sarkar, (4) and Ghosh (5) read the same sign in the inscription as denoting '30'. Buhler read the syllable 'la' in the Chicacole plate as 3. (6) In the Table number 71 of Ojha's Bhartiya-pracina-lipi-lama, the numerical syallable 'la' has been read as 3 in the three inscriptions belonging to Sivaskandavarman and Jayavarman (7). It is particularly important to note that the first two signs of the above table closely resemble the second numeral of the first plate of Sasanka, denoting both the years and the day of the month. In view of this we feel that we may be nearer truth in reading the dates on the plate as year 303 or 13, and the day as 13th of the month. The first numeral of the syllables denoting day must be '10', as Majumdar has read on the analogy of the Biharsharif inscription of Mahendrapala (8). The date on the second plate is the year 8, as read by Majumdar (9). Therefore Sasanka was certainly ruling over the modern districts of Midnapur and Northern Orissa as is clear from the plates under discusion, either in 622-23 A.D., if the first plate is datd in the Gupta era, or in 615 A.D., if it is dated in the 13th year of his reign. It may be pointed out that the date marks for the year on the second plate are very much damaged, and though it has been provisionally read as being dated in the 8th year, it may have been actually dated in the Gupta era, as are the Ganjam plates of Madhava varaja II (10) or the Patiakella grant of Maharaja Sivaraja

(1) ibid XXIV. pp. 139 ff.
(2) E. I. III. p. 131 ff. Buhler's Table IX. Col. XV, 2.
(3) JAHRS. VII, p. 229 ff.
(4) Ibid.
(5) E. I. XXV. pp 281 ff.
(6) Indian Palaeography, p. 78.
(7) Bharatiya-Pracina-Lipi-Mala, Table 71.
(8) M. A. S. I. No. 66, p. 105, Pl. XI d.
(9) JASBL XI. pp. 1 ff.
(10) E. I. VI. pp. 143 ff.

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or the Patikella grant of Maharaja Sivaraja (1) or the Soro plate A. of Maharaja Sambhuyasas (2). But it is equally possible that the Midnapur plates are dated in regnal years, as are the other three plate from Soro and the Balasore plate of Maharaja Bhanu

Four copper plates have been discovered in Soro in the Balasore district of Orissa (3). From plates B and C we come to know that Mahabaladhkrita Antaranga and Mahasandhivigrahika Somadatta made grants of land to Dhruvamitrasvamin, Arungamitrasvamin and others in the year 15 (4). From Midnapur plate number I of Sasanka we know that in the year 13 (read 9 by Majumdar) on the 13th day of Bhadra, 'while the illustrious Sasanka is protecting the earth.....Dandabuhkti along with Utkala is ruled by the illustrious feudatory Maharaja Somadatta, (5) The learned scholar has adduced very good reasons for identifying Somadatta of this plate with Somadatta of the Soro plates. He has rightly presumed that the unnamed suzerain of the latter plates was Sasanka. (6) The late Mr. N.G. Majumdar (7) on the basis of the difference in in the palaeography between the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II and the Sorro plates held that the Soro plates belong to the earlier period and should be assigned to the Kalacuri era. But Majumdar (8) has conclusively proved that the soro plates and the Midnapur plates of the time of Sasanka betray exactly the same palaeograpnic characteristics, and therefore both sets of plates belong to the same period. The date 260 on the Soro plate (9) may therefore be read as of the Gupta era. From the Saro plate D (10) we learned

(1) ibid, IX. pp. 285 ff.
(2) ibid. XXI II. pp. 191 ff. N. G. Majumdar read the date in the Kaiacurl era, but Majumdar has shown that it should belong to the Gupta era. (JASBL. Xl pp. lff)
(3) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
(4) ibid.
(5) JASBL. Xl. pp. 1 ff.
(6) ibid.
(7) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
(8) JASBL. Xl. pp. lff.
(9) E. I. XXIII. p. 197 ff.
(10) ibid.

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that Mahapratihara Maharaja Bhanudutta in the year 5, meditating on the feet of his suzerain, made grants of land to Priyamitrasvamin, Vatamitrasvamin Dhruvamitrasvamin and Arungamitrasavamin. This Bhanudatta has been identified with Mahapratihara-Maharaja Samanta Sri Bhanu of the Balasore copper-plate inscription (1). This is also dated in the year 5, and in it mention is made of the fact that the feudatory was meditating on the feet of the sovereign overlord (Paramabhattarakesa). The donees of the grant are Priyamitrasvamin, Vatamitrasvamin, Dhruvamatrastvamin and Arungamitrasvamin. The donees of this grant are the same as of the Soro plate D, though the Balasore plate is earlier by a little over three months than the Soro plate (2) In Soro plates B and C the donees are, besides others, Dhruvamitrasavmin and Arunga svamin. N.G. Majumdar, the editor of the Soro plates, opined that "there could be no difference of more than a generation between Bhanduata and Somadatta" (3) R.C. Majumdar concluded that Somadatta was followed by Bhanudatta in the government of Uttara-Tosali on the grounds that the names of the two donees in the B and C plates from Soro reappear along with others in plate D of the same set, and the name Arungasvami is changed into Arungamitrasavamin in the latter (4). We beg to differ from the conclusion arrived at by the learned scholar. The fact may be just the reverse. In the Soro plate D and in the Balasore plate of Sri Bhanu the donees' names end in 'mitra', but in the Soro plates D and C the name of Arungamitrasvamin is changed into Arungasvamin. It appears that the real name was Arrunagamitrasvamin and later on it was shortened into Arrungasvamin. (5) The two other donees Priyamitrasavamin, and Vatamitrasvamin who do not appear in the Soro plates of Somadatta, were probably dead. It may have some significance that Dhruvamitrasvamin and Arungamitrasavamin appear

(1) IHQ. XI. pp. 611 ff.; E. I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff.
(2) E. I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff.
(3) ibid, XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
(4) JASBL. X. I. pp. 1 ff.
(5) E. I. XXIII. P. 197 ff; IHQ. XI. pp. 611 ff; E.I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff

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last in the list of the donees in the Soro and Balasore plates of Bhanudatta, while in the Soro p'ates B and C Dhruvamimitrasavamin and Arungasvamin are mentioned at the head ef the list. Moreover as the dates on the copper plates of the feudatories must have been in the regnal years of the overlord Sasanka, the date of Bhanudatta's plates (1) being 5, it is obvious that Bhanudatta must have come earlier than Somedatta, whose earliest date is probably 13 in the regnal year of his overlord. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that before the 5th year of his reign Sasanka was mastar of Uttara-Tosali in modern Balasore and Midnapur districts. From the Patiakella inscription of the (Gupta) year 283 (-602-3 A.D.) we learn that the sovereignty of the Mana family was recognised at least in the Cuttuck district of Orissa (2). The imperial titles in the inscription may refer to Sambhayusas. From the Soro plate A it is clear that in the year 260 Maharaja Sambhuyasas was granted land in the Balasore district, then situated in Uttara Tosali (3), N.G. Majumdar thought that the date belonged to the Kalacuri era (4); but R.C. Majumdar has conclusively proved that the date should be assigned to the Gupta era (5). It is therefore clear tnat at least from G.E. 260 to 283 the sovereignty of the Mana rulers was recognised in Northern and Central Orissa. It is certainly significant that while imperial titles are not given to Sambhuyasas in the Soro plate, in the Patiakella inscription he seems to to be referred to as Pramabhattaraka Devatadhideva (6). He belonged to the Mudgala family (7). It is also notable that Maharaja Sambhuyasas is referred to as 'va (ba) ppa padanudhyatah' (8). This may suggest that in 260 G.E. (-579-80 A.D.) Sambhuyasas may have been subordinate to his father, but in 283 G.E. (-602-3 A.D.), the date of the Patiakella grant (9), he was the supreme

(1) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197. ff.
(2) E. I. IX. pp 285 ff.
(3) ibid. XXIII. pp 197 ff.
(4) ibid.
(5) JASBL, XI. pp. 1 ff.
(6) E. I. IX. pp. 285 ff.
(7) ibid; ibid, XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
(8) E. I. XXIII pp. 197 ff.
(9) ibid, Ix. pp. 285 ff.

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lord himself. Sambhuyasas may have belonged to the Mana faimly. Whether the sovereignty of the Mana rulers extended further south to the Ganjam district, where the Sailodbhava rulers are given fendatory titles, as a suggested by Majumdar (1), may or may not correct. Therefore the conquest of Orissa, at least Northern and Central Orissa, must have happend between the years 602-3 A.D., the last known date of Sambhuyasas and the 5th year of Sasanka's regin, the date of Bhanudatta's plates. If the accession of Sasanka took place in about 602 A.D., as assumed in these pages, then the conuqest of Orissa must have been over before 607 A.D. This success must have been achieved against the Mana ruler Sambhuyasas. It appear reasonable to conclude that after the conquest of Northern Orissa, as is clear from Sasanka's Midnapur plates he advanced further south, made himself master of the Cuttack district, and extended his dominion at least up to the Ganjam district in the south, as is clear from the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II (2). Bhanudatta appears to have been appointed to hold charge of the newly conquered province of Northern Tosali or Northern Orissa and Danabhukti (Midnapur). Bhanudatta was followed by Somadatta. It arpears from a close study of the Midnapur plates of Sasanka that in the beginning Utkala and Dandabhukti were separately governed. In the 8th year we find Mahapratihara Subhakriti ruling the Dandabhukti (3), but in the 13th year Somadatta is governing Utkala with Dandabhukti. From the Soro plates B and C we find that Somadatta was ruling the Sarephaharavisaya (identified with the village Soro in Balasore district), which was situated in Uttara-Tosali in Odravisaya. (4) This shows that at that time Odra and Utkala meant the same region, i.e. Northern Orissa. Dandabhukti comprised the modern district of Midnapur. Traditions also connect Sasanka with Midnapur.

(1) JAHRS X. pp. 1. ff.
(2) E. I. VI. pp. 143 ff.
(3) JASBL. XI. pp. 1 ff.
(4) E. I. XXIII. pp 197 ff.

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Sasanka certainly exercised control over almost the whole of Bengal. His conquests in Orissa prove his sovereignty over South-western Bengal, including ancient Tamralipti (Tamluk). From the Harsacarita we learn that he was king of Gauda, and Yuan Chwang expressly informs us that his capital was at Karnasuvarna. Thus he was master of Central and Western Bengal. A coin of Sasanka was found with the Rajalila type of coin of Narendraditya (identified with Samacaradeva) at Muhammadpur, near Jessore (1). This may suggest that Sasanka's authority extended even to the eastern parts of Bengal. But it may be pointd out that coins are very portable and it is very possible to find them in places which may have nothing to do with their issuer. But we are on surer grounds in assuming that Sasanka ruled over Northern Bengal or ancient Pundvardhana (2). A traditon connects a tank in the Borga district of Northern Bengal, with the name of Sasanka. During this period no other power is known to have exercised rule over this region. M.M.K. clearly associates Sasanka with Pundra (3). This conclusion is confirmed by a newly found inscription in Assam, where we are told that a Gauda army corssed the Lauhitya (4) into the Kamarupa country. This could have been easily done from Pundravardhana.

Sasanka's dominion included Magadha. This is clearly proved by the account of the Chinese poligrim who mentions Sasanks's activities in Magadha (5). His Seal-matrix was found at Rohtasgarh (6). His coins have been found at Nalanda (7) and Gaya (8). His dominion is said to have extended up to Banares in the west (9).:

Sasanka had succeeded to the Gupta heritage, and would naturally have tried to imitate his distinguished Predecessor Mahasenagupta in attempting to make his

(1) CCGDBM. p. CXXVII.
(2) Sen. op. cit.
(3) I. H. I. p. 50. Text No. 715.
(4) JARS. XI. (1944) pp. 33. ff.
(5) Watters LI, pp. 92, 114-15.
(6) C. I. I. p. 283.
(7) ASIAR. 1924-25. p. 136.
(8) C. M. I. PL. II. no. 5, p. 19.
(9) I. H. I. p. 49.

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weight felt in Kamarupa. In a new set of copper plates discovered at Doobi in the Kamarupa district and belonging to Bhaskaravarman, it is stated that the Gauda army invaded Kamarupa after crossing the Lauhitya, and was defeated.(1). The record gives "a vivid description of the battle that ensued between the Bengal army (Gaudabala) on the one side and the two Kamarupa princes, Supratisthitavarman and Bhaskaravaraman on the other; and" the inscriptions further state that the Bengal army was defeated and the two princes of Kamarupa returned home victorioulsly" (2) From the inscriptions it is clear that it was not the Kamarupa army which had taken the offensive, but it was the Gauda army which was proceeding towards the country of Kamarupa after crossing the Lauhitya. We are further informed that the victory did not lead to any part of Bengal being occupied by the forces of Kamarupa. Therefore the war, from the point of view of the Kamarupa dynasty, was defensive, though succeessful. This set of plates is certainly earlier than the set of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman, whrein it is stated that Bhaskaravaramn was in possession of Karnasuvarna the capital of the Gaudas. (3) The new set of plates from Doobi proves that Supratisthitavarman was a king and must have succeeded his father Susthitavarman (4) who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Mahasenagupta. (5) This Gauda invasion must have happened befor the accession of Bhaskaravarman and after the detah of Susthitavaraman, who must have been mentioned if he was alive at that time. The mention of Supratisthitavarman-kataka in the Nidhanpur plates (6) suggests that Supratisthitavarman had reorganised the army. This was probably done after the defeat sustained by Susthitavarman at the hands of Mahasenagupta (7). The reor-

(1) JARS. XI3 3, pp .f
(2) Ibid.
(3) E. I. XIII. pp. 65 ff.
(4) J. A. R. S. XI p. 33 ff.
(5) C. I. I. III No. 42 PP 20 ff
(6) E. I. XII. pp. 65 ff.
(7) C. I. I. III. no. 42 pp. 205ff.

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ganisation of the army by Supratisthitavarman may have alarmed the Gaudas, who decided to take the offensive before it was too late. This may explain their invasion of Kamarupa. The Gauda king who was responsible for this invasion was either Jayanaga or Sasanka, more probably the latter, whose warlike activities are well known. The invasion, though it failed in its immediate objective, must have created a sense of danger in the minds of the rulers of Kamarupa. This served as the real background of Bhaskaravarman's mission to Harsa.

Thus Sasanka with his capital at Karnasuvarna ruled over a large part of Northern India, which included parts of the modern United Provinces, the whole of Bihar and Orissa and a very large part of Bengal. The rise of Sasanka at the head of such a vast emp;re was by rapid stages, and was attained before he came into conflict with the Maukharis and Vardhanas. This is covertly alluded to by Bana: when Rajya and Harsa meet one another after the death of their father and the whole city is in mourning, Bana refers to the rise of the clear-flecked moon in the firmament (1). He observes "prakatakalankam udayamanam visankatavisanotkirna-panka sankara sank rasakura sakkarakakudakutasamakasamakasatakase sasan kamandalam" (2) Nowhere in the Harsacarita is Sasanka directly referred to by his name, and the reference to the rise of the blotted moon certainly refers to Sasanka, the king of Gauda. "The word used for the moon (sasanka) confirms the commentator's statement in page 195 text) that he was the Gauda king" (3) The reference to the moon, Siva and the bull in conncetion with Sasanka reminds us of the Siva, the Bull and the full moon on his coins(4). The use of the word 'mandalam' is very significant. It shows that Sasanka had continued the tradition of Kautilys policy and was at the head of the circle of vassal states. Bana makes him not a petty king of Gauda but a king at the head of a circle of states. Arya-manju-sri-

(1) H. C. (CT) p. 168.
(2) H. C. (Text) (parab). p. 178.
(3) H. C. (CT) p. 275.
(4) CCGDBM. p. 147, PL. XXIII, 14 and 15 and 16; XXIV. 1.

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mula kalpa also indirectly proves that Sasanka was already a great king before he met Rajyaardhana. About R. (Rajyavardhana) we are told that he will be 'as poweful as Soma (Sasanka) (1). This certainly suggests a status and power of Sasanka which an author prejudiced against him and biased in favour of Rajyavardhana, could not but mention as an object worth comparison. At another place in the same work we are informed that Soma (-Sasanka) was "an unparalleled hero and will become king up to Benares and beyond". (2)

III. *Sasanka the Mankharies and the Vardhanas.* ,,,,

It is clear that between 602 and 605 A.D. Sasanka's hegemony was established over a large part of Northern India. His rapid rise to the position of an all-India power had profound effects on the international, or rather interstate, relations of India. The Maukhari king Grahavarman sought the alliance of the powerful Pusyabhuti family of Thanesavara and offered himself as candidate for the hands of Rajyasri, the daughter of Prabhakaravardhana.(3) The latter had come into conflict with Devagupta of Malwa (4) and therefore welcomed this alliance. After the Pusyabhuti-Maukahri alliance, caused partly by the rise of Sasanka, the counter al;ance beteeen the Gaudas and the Guptas of Malwa against their enemies - the Maukharis and the Vardhanas respectively - could not be far off. (5) It is no doubt true that, while we have positive literary evidence about the alliance of the Maukharis with the Vardhanas, we have only to assume the Gauda-Gupta entente. The subsequent events make such an eventuality not only probable but almost a certainty, though there is no warrant for the assumption that "the Gaudas and East Malwa were allied even before the time of Sasanka and Devagupta" (6)

(1) l. Hl. p. 50.
(2) ibid, p. 49.
(3) H. C. (CT.) p. 122.
(4) See supra.
(5) It is really an irony of History that, while Mahasenagupta had sought the alliance with the Vardhanas against the growing menace of the Maukharis, his successor Devagupta made an alliance with the Gaudas against the Vardhanas.
(6) JASBL. XI. pp. 69 ff.

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Assured of the powerful supp9rt of Sasanka, Devagupta attacked Kanauj, killed Grahavarman, imprisoned Rajyasri and was planning to attack Thanesvara, immediately after he heard of the death of Prahakarvardhana. (1) Devagupta may have been waiting for Sasanka to join, and so did not march towards Thanesvara, but was planning to attack it. But before Sasanka could appear on the scene, Rajyavardhana acted with terrific rapidity. Leaving Harsa to take care of Thanesvara, probably to counter any surprise attack and also any panic among the people during the the critical situation, Rajya started with Bhandi and ten-thousand horsemen 'to lay the royal house of Malava in ruin' (2). Success followed his efforts (3), and the Malava king (who was certainly Devagupta), was severely defeated and thousands of elephatns, uncountable ornaments of various kings, beautiful women of Malwa, numerous regal paraphernalia and the vassals of the Malava king were captured by Rajyavardhana. (4) From the Madhuban and Bankshera plates of Harsa we learn that Rajyavardhana had subdued in battle 'king Devagupta and others who resembled wicked horses' (5) Thus it is clear that Devagupta was thoroughly defeated by him and a large booty fell into the hands of Rajyavardhana. It is not clearly stated that Devagupta lost his life in the contest. One thing is clear, that as a result of the defeat of the ruling king of Malwa, the country passed at least temporarily into the hands of the Kalacuris, as we find Buddharaja issuing a land-grant from Vidisa in 609 A.D. (6)

But Rajyavardhana had to face a more powerful and skilful foe in Sasanka. The history of Kanauj since the murder of Grahavarman is crowded with events, and unfortunately their sequence is not absolutely clear. Sasanka appears to have occupied Kanauj, as Rajyasri managed to escape from there 'during the Gauda trouble'

(1) H.C. (CT.) p. 173.
(2) ibid, p. 175.
(3) ibid, p. 178.
(4) ibid. p. 255.
(5) E. I. I. p. 73 ff; IV p. 209.
(6) ibid, XII, pp. 30 ff.

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(1) In some manuscripts of the Harsacarita instead of 'guptanamana grihite kusasthale', we have 'gaudair grihite' (2). What actually happened was that before Sasanka could join Devagupta, Rajyavardhana swooped down upon the latter. Devagupta, who was waiting for his ally to join in an attack on Thanesvara, was forced to give battle to Rajyavardhana. Devagupta joined battle away from Kanauj, probably en route to Thanesvara or even on his way to Malwa. After the defeat of Devagupta, Rajyavardhzna marched towards Kanauj, but before he could reach the place he was forestalled by Sasanka, who had hurried to meet his ally, but was too late. It is clear that as a result of his victory over Devagupta, Rajyavardhana did not come automatically into possession of Kanauj. Had he ever come to occupy the imperial city, he must have released his imprisoned sister immediately. But she was not released by her brother. Now a struggle between Sasanka and Rajyavardhana was inevitable, as the former occupied Kanauj, the capital of his (Rajya's) brother in- law, and his sister was enchained there. The result of this conflict was fatal to Rajyavardhana, who was murdered in 606 A.D. (3)

Thus within a few months, the thrones of Kanuaj and Thanesvara fell vacant in a gloomy atmosphere. Harsa, a young man of barely sixteen, had to face problems which could have baffled the stoutest of hearts any time in history. But he rose equal to the occasion. That he immediately after learning of the unfortunate death of his bro-

(1) H. C. (CT.) p. 251.
(2 Sen. op. cit. p. 267-68, Note 4.
(3) There is some controversy over the manner in which Rajyavardhana met his death at the hands of Sasanka. Bana says that 'the Gauda king allured Rajyavardhana to confidence by false civilities' and 'thus weaponless, confiding alone. he was despatched in his quarters'—(H. C. CT. p 173). Yuan Chwang states that "Sasankaraja, hating the superior military talents of this king (Rajyavardhana), made a plot and murdered him" (The life, p. 85.) From the Si-yu-ke' we learn that Sasanka or his ministers called Rajyavardhana to a conference and murdered him (Records, I. p. 210; Watters. On Yuan Chwang I. p. 343). According to the Madhuban copper plate inscription of Harsa, Rajyavardhana "in consequence of his adherence to a promise gave up his life" (E. I. I. p. 73 ff). In view of these references, many scholars liks Vaidya (HMHI. I.

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ther, ascended the ancestral throne of Thanesvara is undoubted, and there is no basis for Smith's statement that the nobles of Thanesvara hesitated to offer their allegiance to him (1). From the Harsacarita it is clear that the nobles immediately rallied round Harsa, who acomplied with all the forms of royalty (2). Vaidya has rightly shown, and in this has been followed by subsequent writers, that Yuan Chwang's account of the hesitation of Harsa in accepting the throne is in connection with Kanauj rather than with Thanesvara (3).

When Harsa heard of the sad fate of his brother and the advise of Sinhananda "to so deal that for the future no other follows his (Sasanka's) esxample (4), he took a vow that "unless in a limited number of days I clear the earth of the Gaudas and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolece by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl may sinful self like a moth into

and others believe that Sasanka was guilty of some foul play in his deallng with Rayavardhana, who met his death through the treachery of the king of Gauda. But some scholars like R. C. Majumdar (HBRI. p. 71-76), R. P. Chanda (GR. p. 8 ff.) and R. D. Bannerji (B. I. p. 107) have cast doubts on the story of Bana, Yuan Chwang and the scribes of Harsa. They point out differences between the storv of Bana and the Chinese pilgrim. In view of complete absence of any corroborative acconnt from any other source they are not inclined to accept in to to the statemenis of Bana and Yuan Chwang, who were partial to Harsa and interested in painting his enemy Saaanka in very bad colours. Moreover they point out that it is difficult to believe that Rajyavardhana would attend a conference in the camp of his enemy without any precaution. It is equally possible that the allusion of Rajya meeting his death in consequence of his promise, may refer to his promise to release his sister, and that he faced Sananka with men and materials that had suffered some depletion due to the war against the king of Malwa. Though we feel that there must have been some substratum of truth in the story of Bana and Yuan Chwang, which is indirectly confirmed by epigraphy of the period,' the matter may be considered still subjudice in the absence of any evidence from the other side.

(1) EHI, 4th edition, p. 451.

(2) H. C. (CT). pp. 180—94.

(3) HMHI. I. p. 7 ; TK. pp. 68—70 ; Harsa. p. 28, note I.

(4) H. C. CT. p. 182.

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an oil-fed flame" (1) He ordered Avanti, the supreme minister of war and peace, to issue the necessary proclamation and make adequate preparations. (2) From the account of Bana it is clear that huge preparations were made by Harasa to wage war against the Gauda king. Unfortunately we do not know what arrrangements were made by Sasanka to meet this grave emergency. It is possible to assume that the heavy finincial burdens necessary to meet this meance led to the issuing of actually cooper coins with a thin wash of gold over them to be used as gold coins. (3)

But it appears that he left Kanauj in the hands of his officer named 'gupta', who released Rajyasri, probably to divert the attention of Harsa, (4) or the 'Gupta kula-

(1) Ibid, p. 187.
(2) Ibid, p. 188.
(3) App. I
(4) Ibid p. 251 D.C. Ganguli (JBORS. XIX. p. 407, note 48) thinks that this 'Gupta' was Devagupta. This is a gratuitous suggestion. Devagupta the king of Malwa was thoroughly defeated by Rajyavardhana and therefore there is no ground to suppose that he conquered Kanauj from Sasanka when we have reasons to suspeet that there was an alliance between the two. We have no basis at all for assuming that Devagupta and Sasanka fell out among themselves after the death of Rajyavardhana. Moreover the Malwa king who is so badly abused by Bana can hardly be referred to as 'kulaputra' as 'Gupta' is. Moreover, when Devagvpta had imprisoned Raiyasri, there is no reason to assume that he was responsible for her release. Then Devagupta is spoken of very disparagingly in the inscriptions of Harsa, which could never be the case if he had released Rajyasri. We have already seen that in some manuscipts of the Harsacarita instead 'gupta-namna grihite Kusasthale' (गुप्तनाम्ना गृहीते कुशस्थले) we have 'gaudair grihite' (जौडैगृहीते), which shows that 'Gupta' came from Gauda. Some have identified this 'Kulaputra Gupta with Sasanka, the king of Gauda, who is called Narendra-gupta in some manuscripts of Harsacarita (E. I. I. pp. 73 ff.) Whether Sasanka had another name as Narendragupta must be proved on the basis of more solid grounds than the solitary reference by Buhler. Then Sasanka would be the last person to be called 'kula putra' by Bana, who only abuses him. So the Gupta was a Gauda officer.

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putra' might have been a friend of the Maukharis (1). A more compelling reason for Sasanka to hurry to his capital was the attitude of his eastern neignbour, the King of Kamarupa

Bhaskaravarman, who succeeded Supratisthitavarman on the throne of Kamarupa, must have been feeling alarmed at the all round successes of his hostile neighbour, Sasanka, The absence of Sasanka in the west away from his capital, might have encouraged the king of Kamarupa to entertain some aggressive intentions against the Gauda king. The news of Sasanka's falling out with the Vardhanas and Harsa's vast preparations against him, induced Bhakskaravarman to seek an alliance with Harsa against the common enemy. Shrewd Sasanka must have got an inkling of what was going on in the mind of the king of Kamarupa probably by his foreign espionage. This explains his evacuation of Kanauj before meeting the challenge from Harsa. That Sasanka was correct was proved by subsequent events. Bhaskaravarman sent an envoy to Harsa who met him in a camp on his march from Thanescara against the enemy. Hamsavega reported to Harsa that "the sovereign of Kamarupa desires with your majesty (Harsa) an unperishable alliance"; (2) Harsa welcomed the offer, and the mission of Hamsavega was successful. Harsa sent valuable presents for Bhaskarvarman and asked the envoy' to use his infuence in such a way that my (Harsa) yearing to see Kumara (Bhaskaravarman) may not torment me long'. (3)

The events that followed the conclusion of this alliance are not clearly known. Many scholars have readily assmued that immeeiately afterwards the combined armies of Harsa and Bhaskaravarm invaded Gauda and defeated an Sasanka. Vaidya held that Sasanka submitted to Harsa, and was pardoned by him, and allowed to retain his kinddom. Pannikkar (4) thought it probable that 'the Gauda king (Sasanka) accepted Harsa's suzerainty and was allowed by him to rule his state as a vassal. A mould at Rohtasgarh

(1) I.H.Q. VIII. pp. 1 ff.
(2) H.C.CT. p 218.
(3) ibid p. 219.
(4) Sri Harsa, p. 17.

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describes him as a Mahasamanta" N. Ray takes the same line and observes " Sasanka afterwards (after the death of Rajyavardhana) was defeated by the combined foreces of Bhandi and Bhaskaravarman and probably it was then that the Rohtasgarh seal was inscribed which speaks of him as Mahasamanta" (1). The facts that are known do not make it easy to agree with the so simple a conclusion. It is impossible to reconcile the fact of Harsa taking vow to exterminate the Gaudas with the alleged assumption that he would ever pardon the murderer of his brother and appoint him as a high fedudatory to hold charge of the important province of Magadha even if we concede the most unlikely possibility of such a powerful king as Sasanka agreeing to serve as a vassal of his enemy. Some have gone so far as to believe in the utter discomfiture of Sasanka that it has bsen suggested in a learned journal that Sasanka was defeated by Harsa and was forced to give up a part of his dominion and marry his daughter to Harsa, who permitted him to use the title of 'Maharajadhiraja', 'otherwise it is not possible to account for the continued survival of Sasanka as king of Gauda for the next seven years' (2) The above remarks are completely imaginary and the product of a prejudiced mind, not dserving to be taken seriously. On the basis of the Nidhanpur cooper-plate inscriptions of Bhaskarvarman issued from Karnasuvarna(3) Barua held that the alliance between Harsa and Bhaskaravarman 'was disastrous for Sasanka,' as "while Harsa's cousin Bhandi attacked frm the west, Bhaskarvarman at once attacked from the east and occupied Karnasuvarna; being defeated from two sides Sasanka fled towards Orissa" (4). The late Mr. R.D. Bannerji was also 'in no doubt a bout the fact that eventually he (Sasanka) was driven out of Karnasuvarna', and it was "quite possible that this event had taken place before the dates of the Ganjam plates and at that time he lost his possession in Bengal and was the

(1) C. I. I. III no. 78 p. 283 f.
(2) IHQ. XII. pp. 142-43.
(3) E.I. XII. pp. 65 ff.
(4) Barua, op. cit. pp. 65-66.

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master of Orissa only" (1). Heras also concluded that Sasank was driven out of Magadha by Harsa (2). Yuan Chwang, who mentions the king of Kamarupa and Magadha, does not mention the ruling kings of Karnasuvarna, Pundradravardhan, Tamaralipti and Samatata. The conclusion which as been generally drawn from this is that at that time these countries hadno kings and were dependencies of Harsa. Manju-sri-mula-kalpa also refers to the defeat of Soma; Sasanka) by 'Ha' (Harsa). (3)

On the other hand there are important considerations which throw serious doubts on the theory of the defeat of Sasanka by Harsa. Bana, who describes in detail the preparations by Harsa against Sasanka, makes no mention of his victory over Sasanka. This silence becomes all the more significant when we find Bana referring to Harsa's victory against the king of Sindh and the king of "an in accessible land of the Himalaya', but being silent over the alleged success against the most serious enemy. (4) The incident of the falling of the golden seal on the ground, which was taken by the courtiers to be a sign of bad luck, might have been mentioned by Bana to suggest indirectly that Harsa met with failure in his chosen mission.(5)Yuan Chwang, who mentions the fact that Sasanka had murdered Rajyavardhana (6) does not even indirectly refer to his defeat at the hands of Harsa. The Chinese pilgrim was very much biased against Sasanka, as is clear from the *Records* and the *Life*, and therefore if Harsa has thoroughly defeated Sasanka, this event could never have been ignored by the pilgrim, partial to Harsa' It is important to note that the pilgrom mentions important events that happened in the recent past. He refers to Harsa's failure against Pulakesin , (7)the rise of Purnavarman in Magadha, the change in the political condition of Hiranyaparvata,(8)Lampa (Laghman),(9)and

(1) History of Orissa. Vol. 1, p. 129.
(2) JBBRAS (N. S.) 1=II. p. 116 ff.
(3) I.H.I. p. 50.
(4) H.C. (CT. p. 76.
(5) ibid, pp. 198-99.
(6) The Life (Boal) p. 83.
(7) ibid, p. 147.
(8) Watters II p. 115.
(9) ibid p. 181.

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others. Naturally the success of Harsa against Sasanka was too important an event to be missed by the pilgrim. Then according to the account of the pilgrim Sasanka was followed by Purnavarman in Magadha. Whenever Sasanka is mentioned by the pilgrim, it is always in association with Magadha or Karnasuvarna and not with Orissa or Ganjam. We have already seen that Sasanka's conquests of Orissa and Ganjam happened before he faced Rajyavardhana, and therefore it is hardly correct to hold that "being forced to abandon his scheme of expansion in the west, Sasanka found a fresh outlet for his military energy in the east-conquest of Orissa"(1). The Ganjam copper-plates of Sasankaraja dated in 619—20 A.D. are so worded that it appears that up to that date Sasanka was in the fullness of his glory (2) and could not have undergone the humiliation of a severe defeat. In the Midnapur plates of his time he is referred to in glowing terms. (3) These plates are dated, and we have read the dates as 13 and 8 in the regnal years of Sasanka,(4) though Majumdar reads 19 and 8 on them. Whatever be the correct reading, it is clear that up to the 19th or 13th years of his reign, Sasanka was master of the Dandabhukti and Utkala regions. The fact that in the Midnapur as well as in the Ganjam plates Sasanka is referred to as the overlord by his feudatories may suggst that he was ruling over these regions from his centre in Karnasuvarna. Thus it is clear that up to 620 A.D. at least Sasanka was enjoying the fruits of his sovereignty. In view of these overwhelming facts it is not possible to agree with Barua that Sasanka was driven out to Bengal and his empire was divided between Harsa and Bhaskaravarman before 610 A.D., which he considers to be the date of the Nidhanpur plates.(5) Much reliance cannot be placed on the statement of Yuan Chawng that Harsa "went from east to west subduing all that were

(1) Sen, op. cit. 272.

(2) E.I. VI. pp. 143 ff. Sasanka is referred to as 'the Maharajadhiraja Sasanka ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waters of tne four oceans together with islands, mountains and cities'.

(3) JASBL. XI. pp. 1 f.

(4) See supra.

(5) JARS. 1. pp. 97 ff.

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not obedient", and that "after six years he had subdued the five Indias,,, and 'after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace". (1)The passage is evidently confused. In the Life we are told of Harsa's campaign in Ganjam in about 6–42–43 A.D. (2) His war with Pulkesin also happened long after 610 or even 615 A.D. (3) Therefore it has been rightly pointed out that "the account of Yuan Chawang about Harsa should be accepted with caution' The Chinese pilgrim visited Magadha in 637 for the first time, and he speaks of the vandalism of Sasanka in Magadha 'in recent times'(4) or 'lately', in 'late times'(5) This a.lslo tends to confirm our point that Sasanka's rule over Magadha was quite fresh and his rule could not have ended far away from 637 A.D.

The only other point in this connestion that remains to be examined is the account in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa which refers to a defeat of Sasanka by Harsa. Before we discuss the relevant passage of the work it is important to understand its nature. It is a Buddhist work of a purely sectarian kind. Only one chapter purports to give an account of important events and personalities in a prophetic manner, as do the Hindu Puranas. The names of the kings are mentioned by initials which often cause a serious headache in their indentification with known personages of History. Very often chronology and sequence of events and persons are inextricably confused. The whole thing is done more to confuse than clarify facts, and being profoundly coloured with religious and sectarian notions it is often impossible to separate the grain from chaff, facts from fiction. It is not an impartial history, neither is it intended to be so. Therefore even when identification of the persons is possible, the account about them may not be absolutely correct. If they are Buddhists then their account would be exaggerated ; and if they are non-Buddhists, they would be maligned and their smallest failures would be described as terrible disasters. The account of Soma, rightly

(1) Records vol. 1. p. 213.
(2) The Life, (Beal) p. 157.
(3) ABORI. XIII. pp. 300 ff.
(4) Watters II pp 92. 115.
(5) Records II pp 91, 118.

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identified with Sasanka clearly suffers from all these defects. He is spoken of in vilest of terms and cursed many times. Naturally therefore any account of the mutual relation between the pro-Buddhist Harsa and the anti-Buddhist Sasanka found in this partial sectarian work sohould be treated with suspicion. It is no doubt true that the book contains in important particulars genuine historical traditions ; but it would be risky to rely on it for details, especially in matters in which the author was obviously interested one way or the other. About the struggle between Sasanka and Harsa the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa appears to give details. It says "Ha (Harsa) will be with a great army.....and decides against Sasanka (soma). The powerful vaisya king with a large army marched against the Eastern country, against the capital Pundra of that characterless man. Adopting the duty of Ksatra with the sense of personal injury and indignation, he, though kind, prone to religion and learned, kills many, become an oppressor of living creatures for the reason of being engaged in the duty of chastisement. He defeated Soma, the pursuer of wicked deeds ; Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (henceforth). He returned, having been honoured (?) in that kingdom of the barbarian (Mlecchas). He, an excellent king amongst followers of Artha (Sastra) and Dhar ma (Sastra)' was successful in his undertaking".(1) Jayasval calls it 'the battle of Pundravardhana'(2) It is certainly significant that while Karnasuvarna was the capital of Sasanka the battle is alleged to have been fought in Pundra (Pundravardhana, identified with Mahasthana in the Bogra district of Northern Bengal).It is called (puram uttamam here (3)and Jayasval translates it as the capital.(4)More probably Pundravardhana had continued to be the capital of the province of Pundravardhana in the time of Sasanka. Realising the danger from the Varman dynasty of Kamarupa, Sasanka may have concentrated at Pundravardhana, which lay on

(1) I.H.I. p. 50.
(2) ibid. p. 51.
(3) ibid, Text, p. 53. v. 723.
(4) ibid, p. 50.

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the Karatloya, which was the western boundry of the kingdom of Kamarupa in the time of Yuan Chwang. It is certainly not safe to rely on the evidence of the Manju-srimula-kalpa alone for the alleged battle between Harsa and Sasanka. But even when one reads between the lines of the quoted passage it appears that Harsa was not completely successful, as alleged in the work. Sasanka could not be crushed, and was left in possession of his kingdom (svadesa). Harsa had to withdraw. The use of the word 'Mleccha' in connection with Pundra or the country of Sasanka indirectly suggests that, whatever may be claimed for Harsa in the work, really he was not welcomed by the people there and had to return after patching up a truce with Sasanka. Harsa, who had promised to exterminate the Gaudas from the earth, could never willingly have left Sasanka in possession of his kingdom and be satisfied with mere subordination. Therefore even if the verses quoted above contain some element of genuine historical tradition, they only show that Harsa won at best only partial success which is referred to in the *Life*, where we are told that Harsa "was soon able to avenge the injuries received by his brother(1)". But Thomas Watters translates the similar passage in the Records differently : "continuing the narrative, the pilgrim goes on to state that as soon as Siladitya become ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection(2)". Here it is obvious that it is not expressly stated, as in the *Life*, that Harsa successed in avenging the death of his brother. We are not in a position to explain this vital difference in the accounts of the *Records* and the *Life*. However, we do not feel that there is sufficient authority to hold that Sasanka was thoroughly defeated by Harsa in the early years of his reign. What actually appears to have resulted from Harsa's first campaign against the Gauda king was that Sasanka had to eschew his ambition to become the master of the whole of Northern India. He evacuated Kanauj and the Maukhari territories and had to be content with his own kingdom of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, where he was ruling

(1) The Life (Beal) p. 83.

(2) Watters I. p. 343.

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before he came into conflict with Rajyavardhana or entered into an aggressive alliance with Devagupta of Malwa. This partial success of Harsa has been exaggerated by partial authors. Smith was instinctively right in observing that "Sasanka escaped with little loss(1)".

IV. *Last Years of Sasanka.*

The rule of Sasanka over Magadha is characterised by the Chinese pilgrim as a period of vandalism against the Buddhist institutions and sacred monuments. Sasanka tried to efface the foot-print of Buddha on the stone in Pataliputra (2); he cut down the Bodhi Tree and destroyed its root "down to the water and burnt what remained"(2). He destroyed the image of Buddha in the vihara east of the Bodhi Tree(3), and as a dire consequence of this irreligious act he perished by a fell disease(4). He is referred to as 'overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha' (5). We are informed that by "Sasanka's extermination of Buddhism" the magnificent establishment founded by wealthy Brahmana at Kusinagara, suffered much, as "the groups of the Brethren were all broken up"(6). The state of Buddhism had become so low that the most important factor whicnh weighed with Avalokitesvara to advise Harsa to accept the throne was to "raise Buddhis m from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karnasuvarna"(7). The author of the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa says : "Soma (Sasanka) enamoured by the words of the Tirthakas, will burn that great bridge of religion (dharma), as propesied by former jinas (Buddha).....and fell down all the monasteries, gardens and chaityas.....and he will die of a disease in his mouth" (8). That Sasanka was not a Buddhist is clear from his coins, on which we find the bull, the moon and Siva(9). This is confirmed by the

(1) EHI. (3rd Edn) p. 339.
(2) Watters II. p. 92.
(3) ibid, pp. 114-5.
(4) Records (Beal) 11, pp. 121-22,
(5) ibid.
(6) ibid, p. 91.
(7) Watters. I. p. 343
(8) I.H.I. pp. 49 50.
(9) CCGDBM pp 857-8, PI. XXIII. 14.

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account of Yuan Chwang, where we are told that Sasanka wanted to remove the image of Buddha and replace it by that of Siva in the temple east of the Bodhi Tree(1).

But we have no other authority except the prejudiced pilgrim and the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa to confirm Sasanka's acts of vandalism against Buddhism. Of course there must have been an element of truth in the account of Yuan Chwang, who could not invent only lies about a king who had passed away almost immediately before him. Moreover the excavations in Nalanda clearly show that the famous monestery suffered detruction many times in its long chequered history. It is quite possible that after the Hunas, Sasanka also attacked the famous Buddhist seat of learning(2). Allan has rightly concluded, "It is certain, then, that Sasanka was a persecutor of Buddhism, although the Chinese pilgrim may credit him with more than he deserves"(3). But it is fair to bear in mind that, while the pilgrim refers to Sasanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, he does not allude to a single instance of such acts of fanaticism in Karnasuvarna, the capital of Sasanka. Yuan Chwang observes that in Karnasuvarna, there were ten Buddhist monateries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya school, and he also mentions the magnificent Raktamrita monastery besides the capital(4). This fact makes it difficult to explain Sasanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, when he appears to have followed the traditional Ancient Indian policy of religious toleration in the home-provinces. It may be suggested that the reasons for the persecution of Buddhists in Magadha mayhave been more political than religious. Magadha was the centre of Buddhism from the very beginning. There were numerous Buddhist monasteries and seats of learning, and it is quite reasonable to assume that the Buddhists, probably the most fully organised sect in India, must have exercised some force in the history of the country. The later imperial Guptas patronised the Buddhist monasteries. The Maukharis were

(1) Watters II. p. 116.
(2) ASIAR. 1924-25. p. 136; JBBRAS. N.S. I-II. p. 216.
(3) CCGDBM. p. LXIII.
(4) Watters. II. pp. 191-92.

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also patrons of these monasteries and their seals have been found at Nalanda. Grahavarman, who was the victim of the Devagupta-Sasanka conspiracy, had an inclination towards Buddhism, and his great friend was Divakaramitra(1). Rajyasri was a follower of Buddhism(2), and Rajyavardhana was also a devotee of Buddha(3). Harsa also had eclectic views on religion, and appears to have been attracted towards Buddhism from the very beginning. It was probably the expulsion of the pro-Buddhist Maukharis from Magadha by the more orthodox Gaudas which made the latter unpopular with the powerful Buddhists of Magadha. The murder of the pro-Buddhist Gravarman and the Buddhist Rajyavardhana must have made still worse the relations between the Gauda rulers and the Buddhists of Magadha. A deadly struggle between the king of Gauda and Harsa was imminent ; and Sasanka may have suspected some disloyalty on the part of the Buddhist of Magadha. In this connection it is of some significance to note that, according to the Chinese pilgrim, only a few months after the uprooting of the Bodhi Tree by Sasanka, Purnavarman restored the tree to life. Inview of lack of positive facts, it may be speculated that Purnavarman, probably a scion of the Maukhari family, was the leader of the Buddhist discontent and a rival to Sasanka. The latter, therefore, for pure security reasons decided to attac,k the powerful Buddhist community. The uprooting of the Bodhi Tree may have been an economic move against the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha, as presents from all over the Buddhist world were offered at the Bodhi Tree. It is quite understandable that a foreign religious scholar like Yuan Chwang would notice in these acts of Sasanka a deliberate policy to overthrow and destroy the Buddhist religion. Later on Buddhist writers consciously or unconsciously interpreted the actions of Sasanka as guided purely by religious fanaticism. Such misunderstanding and exaggeration of only

(1) HC. CT) p. 233.

(2) ibid, p. 254.

(3) E.I.I. p. 73-74 parama Sangatah Rajyavardhana.

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one of the various motives of conquerors is not unknown in Indian history. Mahmud of Ghazni has suffered from the same misunderstanding, and modern research has shown that his breaking of Hindu temples and images were inspired more by greed and lust then by religious fervour.

It is not definitely known when exactly Sasanka died. But it is appears certain that he was holding Magadha till his death. Yuan Chwang observes, "In recent times Sasanka the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree..... A few months afterwards Purnavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life"(1). This certainly proves that Sasanka was immediately followed by Purnavarman in Magadha. The pilgrim further observes that Sasanka ordered the destruction of the Buddha's image in the vihara east of the Bodhi Tree, and as soon as he heard of the destruction of the image he "was seized with terror : his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off and after a a short while he died"(2). This confirms our stand that at the time of his death Sasanka was the sovereign of Magadha. The destruction of the image could only be simultaneous with the uprooting of the Bodhi Tree, which was followed by the coming into power of Purnavarman only after a few months of this act of vandalism. Yuan Chwang visited Magadha in 637 A.D., for the first time, and the describes Sasanka as having destroyed the Bodhi Tree "in recent times"(3). He visited Karnasuvarna in April 639 A.D.(4). and does not mention the reigning king. This certainly proves that Sasanka was dead before 637 A.D. He died of a natural disease. This is clear from the account of the pilgrim (5) & Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa(6). According to the latter authority Sasanka ruled for 17 years 1 month and 7 or 8 days(7). This may not be precisely accurate, but iis not far from the actuality. Sasanka came to the throne in the

(1) Watters II. p. 115.
(2) Records (Beal) II, p. 122.
(3) Watters II. p. 115.
(4) CAGI (S.N. Majumdar edn. p. 647).
(5) Records (Beal) II. p. 122.
(6) I.H.I. p. 50.
(7) ibid.

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early years of the 7th century after Christ, and his rule may have come to an end by 625 A.D.

After the death of Sasanka in cir. 625 A.D., the Gauda empire, built up largely by the genius of Sasanka, collasped like a house of cards. The Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa gives a description of the Gauda-system at the death of Sasanka. It says "After the death of Soma (sasanka) the Gauda polirtical system (Gauda-tantra) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons and mutual jealousy-one (king) for a week ; another for the month ; then a republican constitution—such will be the daily (condition) of the country on this bank of the Ganges where houses were built of the ruins of the monasteries. Thereafter Soma's son Manava will last for 8 months"(1). This may probably reflect a true picture of Gauda after the exit of Sasanka from the stage. In this state of political and constitutional instability in the centre of the empire, the distant provinces could not be expected to adhere to the aprons of Gauda. Magadha became independent under Purnavarman, a few months after the death of Sasanka. The Sailodbhavas of Ganjam declared their independence. While in the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II Sasanka is mentioned as overlord , in the Khurda plates of the same ruler, Madhavaraja II, there is no mention of any overlord, and Madhavarrja is referred to as 'master of all Kalinga', and the grant is issued from the victorious camp of Kongoda. Bengal passed into the control of Harsa and Orissa also appears to have ultimately fallen into his hands, as is clear from the accounts of Yuan Chwang. Thus the first Bengal empire in Indian History perished with the death of the first great great hero of Bengal.

(1) I.H.I., pp. 50-51.

Devanagari rendering of words written in Roman Script.

Roman	Devanagari	Roman	Devanagari
A			
Abhiseka	अभिषेक	Bihar	विहार
arthasastra	अर्थशास्त्र	Bodhi	बोधि
arunga Mitra	अरुङ्ग मित्र	Buddha	बुद्ध
,, ,, Swamin	अरुङ्ग मित्र स्वामिन्	Buddharaja	बुद्धराज
,, ,,	अरुङ्ग स्वामिन्	Budhagupta	बुध गुप्त
Aryamanju-Srimula kalpa	आर्य मंजु श्री मूल कल्प	Brahmana	ब्राह्मण
avalokitesvar	अवलोकितेश्वर	C	
B		Calukya	चालुक्य
Buddharaja	बुद्धराज	Candra Gupta	चन्द्रगुप्त
Bana	बाण	Cicacol	चिकाकोल
Banskhera	बंस खेरा	D.	
Bhadra	भाद्र	Danda bhukti	दण्ड भुक्ति
Bhanu	भानु	Deva Gupta	देवगुप्त
Bhaundatta	भानुदत्त	Devendra Varman	देवेन्द्र वर्मन्
Bharatiya-pracina–lipi–mala	भारतीय प्राचीन लिपि माला	Dharmaditya	धर्मादित्य
Bhaskara–Varmana	भास्कर वर्मन्	Dharma–sastra	धर्मशास्त्र
Bhattasali	भट्टशाली	Dhruvamitra–swamin	ध्रुवमित्र-स्वामिन्
		Dhruvamitra–Varman	ध्रुवमित्र वर्मन्

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Devanagri rendering of words written in Roman Script.

Roman.	Devanagari	Roman	Devanagri
Divakara Mitra	दिवाकर मित्र	Hiranyaparvata	हिरराय पर्वत
Dustagauda bhujanga	दुष्ट गौड भुजंग	I	
G.		Indravarman	ईद्र वर्मन्
Gunga anantavarman	गंग अनन्त वर्मन्	J	
Garudadhvaga	गरुडध्वज	Jaya	जय
Gauda	गौड	,, Naga	,, नाग
,,Bala		,, Skanda	,, स्कन्द
,,Dhama	गौडबल गौडाधम	Jirajinji	जिरजिजि
,, Raja	गौडराज—गौडधिप	K	
,, Tantra	गौड तंत्र	Kalacuri	काला चूरी
Gaya	गया	Kamarupa	कामरूप
Gopacandra	गोपचन्द्र	,, Sasanavali	,, शासनावली
Grahavarman	ग्रह बर्मनु गुप्त	Karnasuvarna	कर्णसुवर्ण
Gupta		Karnavarman	कर्ण वर्मन्
H		Kautilya	कौटिल्य
Haraha	हराहा	Kongada	कोंगद
Harsa	हर्ष	Krisnaraja	कृष्ण राज
,, carita	हर्ष चरित	Kumaragupta	कुमार गुप्त
,, Vardahna	हर्ष वर्धन		

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L	
Laksmi	लक्ष्मी
Lampa (laghman	लम्प (लघ्मन्)
Lauhitya	लौहित्य
M	
Madhavagupta	माधवगुप्त
,, raja	माधवराज
Madhuwana	मधुवन
Madhyadesa	मध्यदेश
Magadha	मगध
,, n	मगधन्
Mahabaladhikriata antaranga	महाबलाधिकृत अन्तरङ्ग
Mahasandhi vigrahika Somadatta	महा संधिविग्रहिक सोमदत्त
Mahapratihara Maharaja Bhaundatta	महाप्रतीहार महाराज भानुदत्त
Mahapratihara Maharaja Samanta Bhanuk	महाप्रतीहार महाराज सामन्त भानुक्
Mahapratihara Subhakriti	महाप्रतीहार शुभकृति
Maharajadhiraja	महाराजाधिराज
Mahasamanta	महासामन्त
,, Sasankdeva	,, शशाङ्क देव
Mahasenagupta	महासेन गुप्त
Mahasthana	महा स्थान
Mahendrapal	महेन्द्रपाल
Malava	मालव
Malwa	मालवा
Mandala	मण्डल
Mangalesa	मंगलेश
Maukhari	मौखरी
Mrganka	मगाङ्क
Mudgala	मुद्गल
N	
Nalanda	नालन्दा
Nandidhvaja	नन्दिध्वज
Narendraditya	नरेन्द्रादित्य
Narendragupta	नरेन्द्र गुप्त
,, Sasanka	,, शशाङ्क
Nepal	नेपाल
Nidhanpur	निधान पुर
O	
Odra	ओड्र
,, Visaya	,, विषय

Roman	Devanagari	Roman	Devanagari
P		**S**	
Parama Bhattaraka	परममट्टारक	Saiva	शैव
Parama Bhattaraka Dewatadhideva	,, देवताधिदेव	Samacaradeva	समाचारदेव
Pataliputra	पाटलिपुत्र	Samanta	सामन्त
Patia Kella	पतिआ केल्ल	Sambhuyasas	शंभुयशस्
Prabhakaravardhana	प्रभाकर वर्धन	Sammatiya	सम्मतीय
Prakasaditya	प्रकाशादित्य	Sarephahara	सरेफहर विषय
Priyamitravarman	प्रियमित्रवर्मन्	Visaya	सर्व वर्मन्
Pulakesin	पुलकेशिन्	Sarvavarman	शशाङ्क
Pundravardhana	पुण्ड्र वर्धन	Sasanka	शिलादित्य
Purnavarman	पूर्णयवर्मा	Siladitya	शिव
Pusyabhuti	पुष्यभूति	Siva	,, राज
R		,, Raja	,, स्कन्द
Rajalila	राजलीला	,, Skanda	,, ,, वर्मन्
Rajyasri	राज्यश्री	,, Varman	सोमदत्त
Rajyavardhana	राज्य वर्धन	Somadatta	सो रो
Raktamirta	रक्तमृत	Soro	श्री प्रकाण्डयशस्
Rohatasgarh	रोहतासगढ	Sri Prakanda Yasas	श्री श
		Sri Sa	शूलिक
		Sulika	

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Supratisthita varman	सुप्रतिष्ठित वर्मन्	Vapaghosa Vata	वप घोष वात
,, Kataka	,, कटक	Vappa Padaundhyata	वप्प पादानुध्यात
Susthita varman	सुस्थित वर्मन्	Vardhana	वर्धन
Svadesa	स्वदेश	Varman	वर्मन्
Svalpa Vetura	स्वल्प वेतूर	Vatamitra	वटमित्र स्वामिन्
T		Svamin	विदिशा
Tamralippi	ताम्रलिपि	Vidisa	विद्याविनोद
Thanesvara	थानेश्वर	Vidyavinoda	विष्णु
U		Visnu	
Utkala	उत्कल	,, Gupta Chandraditya	,, गुप्त चन्द्रादित्य
Uttaratosali	उत्तर तोषली	juvaraja	युवराज
V			
Vaidya	वैद्य		

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SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE GAHADAVALAS OF KANAUJ: THE KASIRAJA OF THE PRAKRTAPAINGALAM AND HIS CHIEF MINISTER VIDYADHARA

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The *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैंगलम्), a work on Prakrta (प्राकृत) prosody composed probably in the fourteenth century, quotes five verses by some writer extolling a ruler of Kasi (काशी) styled variously as Kasiraja (काशीराज) Kasisa (काशीश) and Kasisvara, (काशीश्वर). In the first of these the fame of the Kasisa (काशीश) is said to have triumphed over everything white, the moon, the jasmine flower, the kasa (कास) shoots, pearl necklaces, Siva (शिव) and Kailasa (कैलाश)'. Another verse, though a little less conventional, is almost equally useless in giving us the identity of this ruler of Kasi (काशी). According to it the rulers defeated by the Kasisa (काशीश) fled in all directions, leaving behind their wives, homes, elephants and horses. Their tears filled lakes. Rolling on the ground, they beat their bodies in agony, while their family fell at the conquerors's feet. Then plucking courage they got up, put their fingers between their teeth (as a token of sub-mission), and made their children bow down to the Kasisvara (काशश्वर) who, then, taking pity on the rulers' plight favoured them by the restoration of their principalities.[2]

1. चंदा कुंदा कासा, हारा हीरा तिलो अणा के लासा।
जेत्ता जेत्ता सेत्ता, तेत्ता कासीस जिणिआ ते कित्ती॥
(p. 137, verse 77)

2. राअह भग्गंता दिग लग्गंता, परिहरि हअ गअ घर धरिणी
लोरहि भरु सरबस पअ परु परिकरु, लोट्टइ पिट्टइ पणु धरणी
पुणु उट्ठइ संभलि कर दंतंगुलि, बाल तणअ कर जमल करे
कासीसर राआ णेहलु काआ, करु काआ पुणु थप्पि धरे॥
(p. 289, verse 180)

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Details about the rulers defeated are supplied by the other verses. One of these advises the ruler of Gauda (गौड) to go back with his tired elephants and infantry divisions, for no people, however heroic, infantry or even elephants could withstand the shower of arrows from Kasisa's (काशीशस्य) bow.[3] From another verse we learn that during his raids the Kasiraja (काशीराज) defeated the people of Nepal (नेपाल); made the Bhotas (भोट) move off, beating their breasts ; vanquished the Chinas (चीनाः), depriving them of their pride ; compelled the Lohabalas (लोहाबलाः) to take to their heels ; gained fame by conquering Odra (ओड्र); destroyed the army of the ruler of Malwa (मालवा) and so mauled the Tailanga (तैलङ्ग) forces that they had not the courage to turn back.[4]

But in the above two verses also we are left in the dark about the identity of the Kasisa (काशीश)'. The only verse that can by itself be useful in this direction is the one we shall now refer to. It may be translated into English as follows :—

"When the ruler, the lord of Kasi (काशी), went forth on his expeditions of conquest", says the excellent minister Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), "the Bangas (बङ्गाः) were frightened into submission, the Kalingas (कलिङ्गाः) were vanquished, the Tailangas (तैलङ्गाः) fled from the field in fear, the redoubtable Marathas (मराठाः) ran away on all sides, the Saurashtras (सौराष्ट्राः) fled out of fear, the people of Champaranya (चम्पारण्य) trembled, tried to escape to the hills, and getting up and falling back again and again gave up

3. रे गोड थक्कंति ते हत्थि जूहाइ पल्लट्टि जुज्झंतु पाइक्क बूहाइ ।
कासीस राआ सरासार अग्गेण की हत्थि की पत्ति की वीर वग्गेण ॥
(p. 450, verse 132)

4. जे किज्जिअ धाला जिणु णिवाला, भोट्टा पिट्टंत चले भंजाविअ चीणा दप्पहि हीणा, लोहावल हाकंद पले । ओड्डा उड्डाबिअ कित्ती पाबिअ, मोलिअमालवराअ बले तेलंगा भग्गिअ पुणवि ण लग्गिअ कासीराआ जखण चलें ॥
(p. 318, verse 198)

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the ghost."[5]

The name of Kasiraja (काशीराज) is not to be found in this verse too ; but an excellent clue is provided by the name of its author, the *mantrin* Vidyadhara (मन्त्री विद्याधर) who in all likelihood, is none other than Jayachandra Gahadavala's chief minister bearing this name.[6] It being natural for him to eulogise his master, the Kasiraja (काशीराज) of the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) can with some certainty be identified with Jaychandra (जयचन्द्र) of Kasi (काशी).'[7]

The conflict between the ruler of Gauda (गौड) and Kasiraja (काशीराज) referred to in verse quoted above, is an actual fact vouched for by various records. The Bakerganj inscription of Kesavasena and Madhainagar Grant give Lakshmanasena credit for having erected pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad, both of them included at the time in Jayachandra's dominions.[8] Umapatidhara speaks of the defeat of Kasiraja, who, as Umapatidhara's contemporary, could only be Jayachandra Gahadavala, the ruler of Kasi.[9] And similarly the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश), a Jaina chronicle coming from the other end of India, though presenting a somewhat different picture, refers to the same conflict between the two rivals, Lakshmansena and Jaychandra. According to this source, Jayachandra invested Lakshmanavati (लक्ष्मणावती), the capital of Lakshmanasena of Gauda, for eighteen days, and turned back

5. भअ भंजिअ बंगा भंगु कलिंगा, तेलंगा रण मुक्कि चले मरहट्ठा धिट्ठा लागिअ कट्ठा सोरट्ठा भअ पाअ पले । चंपारण पब्बअ झंपा ओत्था ओत्थी जीव हरे कासीसर राणा कि अउ पआणा बिज्जहर भण मंतिबरे (p. 244, verse. 145.)

6. (a) अत्रान्तरे वाराणस्यां··जयन्तचन्द्रो राजा । तस्य विद्याधरो मन्त्री (Prabandha Kosa, p. 83)

(b) अथ कासिनगर्यां जयचन्द्र इति नृप··नृपतिना तस्य (विद्याधरस्य) निरवधिचातुर्यं पर्यालोच्य सर्वाधिकारभारे धुरन्धरो व्यधायि (Prabandhachintamani p. 113)

(c) कान्यकुब्जदेशे वाराणसी पुरी तत्र विजयचंद्रागजो····जैत्रचन्द्रो राज्यं करोति । तेन विद्याधरा आहूता····स (विद्याधरः) राजकुलेगतः । सर्वमुद्राधिकारी कृतश्च (Puratana prabandhasangraha, 88)

7. Not only the Jaina prabandhas noted above in footnote 6, but also Muslim historians describe Jayachandra as a ruler of Kasi.
8. JASB, N. S., X, pp. 97—104 and N. S., V, pp. 473, 476.
9. IBID. N. S., 11, p. 161.

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to Kasi only on being assured by his minister Vidyadhara, that he had, in secret, received 18 lacs of gold coins as tribute from the enemy. Later on, when Jayachandra learnt that Vidyadhara had agreed to raise the siege not on receiving any money but merely a supplicatory verse from Lakshmanasena's minister Kumaradasa, he approved Vidyadhara's chivalrous conduct, and as a token of his own royal favour, had 18 and 8 lacs respectively of gold coins sent to the Gauda ruler and his minister[10].

There may be some truth in the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश) version ; but the vrese from the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) rather corroborates the evidence of the Sena records. It advises, as pointed out above, the ruler of Gauda to turn back with his fatigued infantry, cavalry and elephants, for none could withstand the mighty Kasiraja (काशीराज) ; and such an advice could be regarded as sensible only if the Gauda (गौड) army had actually tired itself out as a result of its long march from Bengal into the interior of the kingdom of Kasi (काशी). The Sena (सेन) attack may have been no more than a daring raid. It was probably beaten back too. But before this could be done, the Gahadavala (गहडवाल) dominions had to pass through a period of some stress. Even the story of the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश), though partial to Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) and his master, leaves the reader ultimately with the impression that the Gahadavalas (गहडवालाः) had to save themselves by buying off the invaders[11].

The details supplied by verse 4 of the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) do not at first sight look credible. It is not easy to conceive of a ruler, not of India, but Kanauj alone as defeating the Chinas (चीनाः), Bhotas (भोटाः) and Nepalis (नेपालाः); there is nothing unlikely of course in his vanquishing the Malavas (मालवाः) and Odras (ओड्राः). But curiously enough Vidyadhara's (विद्याधरस्य) statement gets, in some measures, the backing of quite an inpartial source, the Kamil-ut-Tawarikh (कामिलुत्तवारीख), which states that

10. pp. 88.—90. (Singhi Jaina Granthamala)
11. According to the Prabahdhakosa the Sena ruler actually regarded the 18 lacs of gold coins sent to him by Jayachandra as an indemnity paid by the Gahadavalas

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"the king of Benares was the greatest king of India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa (मालवा) and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey to Lahore."[12] If this description be true, there is nothing improbable about Jaychandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) conflicts with the peoples mentioned in the verse, though success may not have invariably attended his ventures.

As to further particulars about Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), the author of the verses dealing with Kasiraja (काशीराज), these can be had from at least three Jaina *Prabandhas* (जैनप्रबन्धः), the *Prabandhachintamani* (प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि), in the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश) and the *Puratanaprabandhasangraha* (पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह)[13]. His appointment as minister was due to the influence of Jayachandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) favourite queen, Sudhava (सुधवा), whose rise to royal position he is said to have predicted. By all accounts Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) was a brilliant scholar and gifted administrator, fully fitted for his high post. His only vice, if any, was the extreme generosity. That he was a statesman also of the highest order can be seen from the account of his resignation preserved in the *Jayachandraprabandha* (जयचन्द्रप्रबन्ध),[14]. Unlike Prthviraja's (पृथ्वीराजस्य) chief minister, Kadambavasa (कदम्बावस) who was glad to see a rival ruler, Bhimadeva II (भीमदेव) of Gujarat, attacked hy Muhammad Ghori (मुहम्मद गोरी), Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) was stricken with grief on the death of his master's staunchest opponent, Prthviraja III (पृथ्वीराज). Jaychandra (जयचन्द्र) had ordered illuminations on hearing of the event. Vidyadhara deprecated this lack of foresight, for what had happened to Prthviraja (पृथ्वीराज) might the next day happen to Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र) himself. Prthviraja (पृथ्वीराज) had been, as it were, an iron doorbolt barring the entrance to Madhyadesa (मध्यदेश), his fall should, therefore, have occasioned mourning instead of joy and festivity. Vidyadhara's (विद्याधरस्य) advice, however, fell on deaf ears. When soon after, Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) foreseeing the danger

12. ED, II, p. 251.
13. For reference to pages see foot-note, 6.
14. Parat anaprabandhasangrata, pp. 88—90.

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from the Muslims, began a rally of the state forces and wished to be given a free hand regarding expenditure for a period of two years, Jayachandra strongly disagreed with him, with the result that Vidyadhara laid down the reins of his office and went away on a pilgrimage. He was not eager to retain the post, if he could no longer serve his master's real interests. For money itself he cared little. He probably never witnessed the sad sight of his country being devastated by Muslims. Our sources appear to indicate that he died sometime before Jayachandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) death in the battle of Chandawar. India of the twelfth century needed not only one but many Vidyadharas (विद्याधरय), ministers who could see things from a national point of view and advise their masters to combine against a common enemy. Is it not a matter of regret that Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र), in his mistaken folly, did not utilise the statesmanship of even one Vidyadhara he had ?

We know also of one more Vidyadhara mantrin. He is mentioned in the Seth Maheth inscription of V. 118. But being connected, not with any ruler of Kasi (काशी) bnt a minor chief named Madana (मदन) he cannot be the Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) of our verse.

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A NOTE ON THE WORD NAVAKOTI (नवकोटि) IN THE TITLE NAVAKOTI KARNATA KALAVARAGESVARA (नवकोटि कर्नाट कलवरगेश्वर)

Dr. R. Subrahmanyam M.A., Ph. D.

This title 'Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara' appears for the first time in the Velagalani plates dated Saka 1380 (A.D. 1458)[1] of Kapilendradeva (कपिलेन्द्रदेव) of Orissa. The exact significance of the word 'Navakoti (नवकोटि) in the title was not fully explained by previous writers. Messrs. Manmohan Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji, pioneer writers on the history of Orissa understood it as 'ruler over ninety millions of Karnata and Kulbarga'.[2] Mr. G. Ramadas in his recent article[3] on the Suryavamsi (सूर्यवंशीः) kings of Orissa suggested a new interpretation. According to him the title under reference conveyed the meaning that 'Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र) was ruler of the countries Navakoti (नवकोटि), Karnata (कर्नाट) and Kulbarga'. In support of that surmise he cited the evidence of one of the *slokas* (श्लोकाः) in the Gopinathpur (गोपीनाथपुर) Inscription of Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र)[4] which begins with "Srikhandadripayodhar-opari

1. M. E. R. A17 of 1935 : Taking advantage of the weakness of Bhanudeva, मानुदेव last of the Ganga (गांग rulers of Kalinga, Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र) one of his ministers usurped the throne and started a dynasty of his own in 1434-35 A. D. After securing his position on the throne, he embarked on a campaign of conquest. He deprived the Reddis of Rajahmundry of all their territories, came into conflict with the Rayas (रायाः) of Vijayanagara and Sultans of Gulburga. By 1458-59 he brought under his control the whole region as far south as river Krishna and appointed his trusted servant Ganadeva (गणदेवः) as Viceroy of his southern dominions (J. A. Vol. XX p. 300 & M. E. R. 70 of 1917 . Subsequently he defeated the Bahmani forces at Devarakonda in the Telangana तेलगान) district of modern Hyderabad State, and assumed his high sounding title.
2. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX I No 2, 1900 p. 177 ff.
3. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI P. III p. 176
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX I No. 2, 1900 page 14.

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Karam nirmaya" (श्रीखण्डाद्रिपयोधरोपरि करं निर्माय) and identified Navakoti (नवकोटि) of the title with Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) of the above inscription. In a footnote he further explained his identification as follows:—'M. M. Chakravarti understood the meaning of the quotation as 'levied taxes over the Khanda (खण्ड) hill' but did noit give a thought to identify it. '*Khanda*' (खण्ड) means Nine' (Sanskrit Dictionary, Sarvasabda-Sambodhini Madras 1875). *Srikhandadri* (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) means the 'wealthy region of the nine forts', the same as '*Navakoti* (नवकोटि) *Navanam Kotanam samaharah Navakotam Nvakotam Yasmin tat—Navakoti*' (नवानां कोटानां समाहारः नवकोटम् नवकोट यस्मिन् तत्-नवकोट), 'Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara' (नवकोटि कर्णाट कलवरगेश्वर) is found in every colophon at the end of every Uchhvasa (उच्छ्वास) of Sarasvativilasa (सरस्वती विलास) Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) for Navakoti (नवकोटि) and Kanchipura (काञ्चीपुर) for Karnata (कर्नाट) are synonyms used for metrical purposes". Then he gave the names of the nine forts indicated by the epithet as Bellamkonda (बेल्लम्कोण्ड), Vinukonda (विनुकोण्ड), Kondavidu (कोण्डविडु), Nagarjunakonda (नागार्जुनकोण्ड), Rajahmundry (राजमन्द्री), Peddapuram (पेद्दापुरम्) Kaluvalapalli (कलुवलपल्ली), Vaddadi (वद्दादि) and Potnuru (पोत्नूरु) and concluded that "Navakoti (नवकोटि) or Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) are expressions to indicate the whole region from Simhachalam (सिंहाचलम्) in the north to Nellore in the south".

This explanation given by Mr. Ramadas is not very convincing, specially when he wants us to take the meaning of the word "Navakoti" (नवकोटि) as the name of the country lying between Simhachalam and Nellore. This region before its conquest by the Gajapatis was under the authority of the Reddi rulers of Rajahmundry (राजमन्द्री) and Kondavidu (कोंडवीडु). Neither the inscriptions of the Reddis nor the literature of the period give us the necessary evidence to accept the conclusion of Mr. Ramadas. Again his identification of *Navakoti* (नवकोटि) with *Srikhandadri* (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) also looks erroneous, for he gave numerical values to the word *Khanda* (खण्ड) in Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डद्रि

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and rushed to the conclusion that "Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) means the wealthy region of nine forts" same as Navakoti (नवकोटि) . Using his own arguments, if we give numerical values to the word 'Srikhandadri' (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) we get Khanda 9 and Adri (अद्रि)—7 or 79 (*Ankanam vamato gatih*) (अङ्कानांवामतो गतिः) which is meaningless in the context.[5] The word was not at all used in that sense.

Adri (अद्रि) means only a 'hill' but he understood it as a fort ; granting that *Adri* (अद्रि) meant a hill fort all the forts enumerated by him were not hill forts, certainly Rajahmundry (राजमन्द्री) and Peddapuram (पेद्दापुरम्) were not *giri-durgas* (गिरिदुर्गाः) but were *sthala-durgas* (स्थलदुर्गाः)

The 'region from Simhachalam (सिंहाचलम्) in the north to Nellore in the south' which he equates with the term 'Navakoti (नवकोटि) or Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि)' includes several important forts as Udayagiri (उदयगिरि), Kandukuru (कन्दुकुरु), Addanki (अद्दंकी), Ketavaram (केतवरम्), Kondapalli (कोण्डपल्ली) etc. and Mr. Ramadas's list is not at all exhaustive.

In South India it was customary to affix numerical figures to the names of districts, provinces or countries.[5] Several inscriptions from the Canarese country mention districts along with numerical appellations, but in the Telugu country the Telugu Academy plates[6] of Visnukundi Madhavavarman विष्णुकुंडि माधव वर्मत् dated in the sixth or early seventh century was perhaps the earliest to use such appellation. In that inscription a reference is made to 'one thousand country' which Sri Somasekhara Sarma has identified with Vengi (वेंगी). That the numerical figure refers to the number of *gramas* (ग्रामा.) is made evident by the records of Rajaraja II (राजराज) and of a Mandalika (माण्डलिक) . The inscripion of Rajaraja (राजराज) records that he gave 12 villages to his friend"in respect of the 1,000 villages comprising

5. Velanadu (वेलनाडु) was once a 6000 country-M. E. R. 671 of 1920. Renadu (रेनाडु) 17000 country M. E. R. 466 of 1906. Mulkinadu (मुल्किनाडु) a 4000 country-J. of Tel. Academy Vol. X p. 193. Giripratici (गिरिप्रतीची) or Kondapadamatidesa (कोण्डपदमीतिदेश) was 73 gramas-Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 268 ff (Trisaptatigramavatim—Giripraticim) (त्रिसप्ततिग्रामावतीं.....प्रतीचीम्)

6. Journal of Oriental Research Vol. XI Pt. III, p. 221 ff.

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Vengi-visaya" (वेंगीविषय)[7]. Telugu literature also furnishes instances of this kind. Nannicoda (नन्निचोड) the author of Kumarasambhavam (कुमारसंभवम्) a Telugu poet of the 12th century A.D. in the introduction of this work says that he was born to "Codaballi (चोडवल्ली] lord of Pakanadu (पाकनाडु) 21000."

Thus it is clear that the numericals affixed to the names of districts and provinces refer only to *gramas* (ग्रामाः) But it should not be confused with modern village to denote which we invariably use the word 'grama' (ग्राम) . On the other hand the word 'grama' (ग्राम) indicates unit of measurement[8], though it is hard to conjecture about what it actually represents in terms of measurements in modern days.

Similarly the word 'Navakoti' (नवकोटि) in the title Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara (नवकोटि कर्नाट कलवरगेश्वर) assumed by Kapilendradeva (कपिलेन्द्रदेव) might have been the numerical figure attached to either Karnata (कर्नाट) or Karnata (कर्नाट) and Kulbarga (कुलबर्ग) together, and they must have represented the number of gramas (ग्राम) in these countries. *Karnata* (कर्नाट) in the title is a reference to the Vijayanagara (विजयनगर) kingdom and *Kalabarga* (कलवरग) is a variant of *Gulburga* (गुलबर्ग) the then capital of the Bahmani Sultans.

It may be argued that "Navakoti' (नवकोटि) i.e., 'nine crores' is too huge a figure for a state. But when a province like Nolambavadi (नोलम्बवाडि) could be 32000, the entire Karnata (कनटि) Empire might very well be indicated by the larger figure of 'nine crores'.

7. Epi. Report for 1922 p. 98 para 6; similarly another inscription from Daksharama (दाक्षाराम) (S. I. I. Vol. IV No. 1153) refer to 'Konapota' कोनपोत) who acquired Vengi(वेंगी one thousand gramas' (ग्रामाः) from Kulottunga कुलोत्तुङ्ग चोड).

8. From the Satuluru सातुलूरु) plates (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V p. 112 ff) of Guna Vijayaditya (गुण विजयादित्य) we obtain the phrase "Dvadasa sahasra pramana Vengi mandalam" (द्वादश सहस्रप्रमाण वेंगी मण्डलम् The word 'pramana' (प्रमाण) in the above phrase was explicity used to denote extent.

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CALCUTTA-OUDH CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO JAHANDAR SHAH, 1788 A.D.

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In Political Consultations, dated 28th April, 1788, preserved under the custody of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, we get some correspondence between the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and E. O. Ives, Resident at the Wazir's court at Lucknow, which disclose one of the painful chapters in the career of the Imperial Prince Jawan Bakht Mirza Jahandar Shah, eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam II. Owing to the disturbed state of affairs at Delhi he fled from that place in April 1784 and went away to Lucknow. He placed himself under the virtual protection of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and tried to secure his help in favour of his distressed father. Hastings persuaded the Nawab Wazir, Asafuddaulah, to allow him a "monthly subsidy of 33,333 rupees". Even if his views failed, Hastings recommended (end of 1784) to the Council in Calcutta to allow him "an asylum at Benares". "He will expend his income", the Governor-General remarked, "among the ryots of the Company. His influence will prove of little injury to the police of Benares, to which he himself has shewn very cautious attention and particular consideration for its Magistrate, and the time may come when his activity, spirit and gratitude, if they do not forsake him, may enable him to make ample returns to the Company for the past kindness bestowed on him in the days of his adversity". [1]

But for certain reasons, there was no love lost between Jahandar Shah and Asafuddaulah, and reconciliation between them seemed to be out of question. The Government of Lord Cornwallis, therefore, acted very cautiously in

(1) Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William, 14th December. 1784.

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relation to Jahandar Shah. While their Resident at Lucknow, Mr. E. O. Ives, persuaded the Oudh Nawab, though he "seemed to entertain an implacable resentment"[2] against Jahandar Shah, to pay the latter a *peshkash* of 3 lacs of rupees per annum, he left no stone unturned to induce the Imperial Prince to quit the Nawab Wazir's territories mainly on political ground, so that he might be at a "greater distance from the scene of action in the upper Provinces".[3]

The correspondence, studied here, shows that the Governor-General wanted him to stay at Rajmahal, which, however, was not to his liking. He was destined to die soon (31st May, 1788) while returning from a trip to Chunar.

Mr. E. O. Ives wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the 12th April, 1788 :—"But when the Vizier, after a great deal of persuasion signified his consent to the Peishskush,[4] but proposed only two Lacks of Rupees I then found it necessary to communicate to him your Lordship's opinion that less than 25,000 per month or three lacks per annum was inadequate. Of this the Vizier was brought to approve (the stipend to commence from the month of Cheyte) but in talking to the Minister afterwards in regard to the punctuality of the payments he informed me that the state of his Excellency's finances would by no means allow of his paying anything during the six remaining months of the Fussellee year 1195, but that if your Lordship would order it to be advanced from the Company's Treasury to that period it should thenceforward be regularly paid and the arrears due at the beginning of 1196, should be discharged in the course of that year by equal instalments.

Having expressed my apprehensions of your Lordship's not approving of so tedious a mode of reimbursement of the money to be advanced by the Company in 1195 he at length consented to its being wholly paid in the beginning of 1196 and to this I have signified to him my hopes

(2) The Resident's Letter to the Governor—General, dated 12th April, 1788.

(3) The Resident's Letter to the Governor—General, dated 16th April, 1788.

(4) Presents.

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that your Lordship may give your assent—I must add however that in the Shookah which the Vizier has written to me on the subject and which I thought it necessary to request as a voucher, he says the money on account of 1195 shall be paid in Augun 1196, 'either in Cash or by Bills', which last is in fact (as the Bills are usually drawn at 91 days after sight) reserving to himself the power of delaying it for upwards of three months longer—I did not chuse to appear too importunate on this subject, but if your Lordship should disapprove of the last mentioned clause, I have no doubt but the Minister will agree to the payment being made in cash only—I should suppose also that he would (should your Lordship think it worthwhile to desire it) consent to the 3 lacks, fixed for the stipend being considered as Calcutta Siccas, they being the Current coin of the country where his Royal Highness is to reside—In the Vizier's Shooka to me, the species of Rupee is not particularized but I conclude that Lucknow Siccas are intended—It is also necessary for me to inform you that in the Shokka the Vizier has written me on the subject, he expresses a wish that your Lordship may in consideration of his great expenses, be brought to think that two lacks, as first proposed by him, are sufficient but as he has in the same Shookas authorized me to communicate to His Royal Highness the Establishment of the three Lacks, I conclude that his Excellency has no expectations of your Lordship's concurrence on that head.

Having obtained the Vizier's consent to the main point, I again venture to touch on the Prince's wish for a reconciliation. But to this I found his Excellency continued exceedingly averse. So far however I succeeded, as to persuade him to send by me an answer to the Shookas he had received from His Royal Highness, together with the customary Nuzzar and having thus prevailed on him to do what was necessary to save appearances, I thought it best to be satisfied—I lost no time therefore to repair to the Prince at Meean Gunge, where I arrived yesterday morning before day light.

His Royal Highness was not at all pleased with Rajmahal for his residence—He said it was a deserted place,

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and quite out of the world, and would have preferred Annopshaher, Furruckabad, or Calcutta, I said everything I could in favour of Rajmahal, but he by no means appeared satisfied. However he repeatedly said that he would comply with your Lordship's wishes, but must have a personal interview in Calcutta, to which proposal he could obtain your consent long before he should get to his journey's end.

He expressed every dislike to undertake so long a journey at this season of the year. Sometimes he proposed staying where he was, at Meean Gunge, sometimes at Furruckabad—and sometimes at Cawnpore, till the Rains were over—This I opposed to the utmost of my power, observing that your Lordship had particularly expressed your wishes for him to make as little delay as possible and that as it was not without very great difficulty the Vizier had been persuaded to consent to what had been already obtained of him. It appeared to me to be by no means proper, nor could I help thinking it would be very disagreeable to your Lordship, to give his Excellency further trouble—He then talked of going down himself but leaving his family behind. This I opposed likewise on nearly the same principles; but took advantage of a proposal he had once half made of remaining in the neighbourhood of Chunar Ghur till after the Rains, to recommend his proceeding with his family without delay towards that place, and to write to Your Lordship on the subject, as he might expect to receive your answer before his arrival there, observing at the same time that as there were certainly less objections to his being in the Company's Territories than in those of the Vizier it was possible your Lordship might, in consideration of his case and convenience, consent to his remaining for some time in the vicinity of Chunar. The diminution in his Peishcush he was very much dissatisfied with. He said it hardly sufficed for his expenses before; and that now he had brought his family and their children with him it ought to have been encreased instead of curtailed—I referred him

5. "A royal letter or missive; a letter from a superior to an inferior".

6. "A present especially from an inferior to a superior".

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entirely (as I was instructed to do) to your Lordship for an explaination of this matter, and informed him that I had brought a supply, for his immediate expenses on his journey of 15000 Rupees, and on his objecting to the smallness of the sum sending him 10,000 more. He said that if this was offered him on account of the Peishcush which has been proposed to be established for him, he should decline it, but if merely for his travelling expenses he would accept of it. In reply to this I told him I should content myself with taking a receipt for so much money in general terms and have the rest to be settled afterwards with your Lordship. This I was the more ready to do as I was myself doubtful whether your Lordship meant the money I was authorized by your letter of the 16th ultimo the advance should be exclusive of the stipend or not. But the object which his Royal Highness appeared, both from his former shookas, and from his present conversation, to have most at heart, (because doubtless he expected the accomplishment of all his other wishes to follow of course) was a reconciliation with the Vizier—It was for this he had sent his uncle Akbar Ally Khan from Farruckabad and had written several times since. He now also renewed the subject ; but I told him plainly that from all I had been able to learn of the temper of the Vizier was in, I was convinced it was impracticable at present and that I conceived any further attempt would be highly disagreeable to his Excellency, and would in all probability only tend to make things worse, I wished him to postpone all further thoughts of the matter. The conference was finished without His Royal Highness coming to any final determination on the points in question; but he promised to communicate to me his resolutions when he should come to my Tent in the Evening to return the visit.

When he came according to his promise he contented himself with telling me, that he should entirely confirm to your Lordship's wishes, but that he was determined to make one trial in person to bring about a reconciliation with the Nabob Vizier. That for this purpose he would sett off immediately for Lucknow, in order to take his Excellency by surprise, and that he had no doubt but if he had an

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opportunity of enquiring in person into the Reasons of the Nabob's anger it would be very easy to satisfy him that no sufficient cause had been given. This I opposed on the same ground I had taken in respect to his proposal to continue in the Vizier's Territories, and added that it would be a kind of force used on the Nabob, which I could not help thinking was improper, and would not be approved of by your Lordship. His Royal Highness however was deaf to everything that I could urge. He attempted repeatedly to bring me over to his way of thinking but I replied that I could not help continuing in the same opinion I had already declared and that I must beg to be excused having any concern in the matter.

On taking leave of me His Royal Highness set off immediately for Lucknow and I thought it proper to follow him about an hour after. In my way I was met by a Shooltan Sowaur with letters from the Vizier and Hyder Beg Khan informing me that the former had at length in consideration of my wishes consented to pay his personal respects to the Prince on his arrival at Biddinore three or four coss from Lucknow, and requesting that I would accompany His Royal Highness thither. On my arrival at Hyder Beg Khan's at about one o'clock this morning I found that these letters had been written in consequence of some conversation he had with his Excellency after my departure. I learnt also that the Prince, who had arrived an hour or two before me, had seen the Vizier, and had been conducted to His Excellency's Garden house at Gowgaut.

His Royal Highness as I am since informed arrived at Lucknow before midnight. Went immediately to the palace accompanied by only horseman and was near being knocked down by the sentry before he discovered himself. On being told of the Prince's arrival at the Gate, the Vizier, who was retired to rest, immediately came out, presented his Nuzzir, and directed him to be accommodated at the house above mentioned and this morning, his Excellency, his Ministers, and the other attendancts of the Court paid their respects. The Vizier means I find to show his Royal Highness every mark of attention and respect during his stay but has referred

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him on all points of business to me as one who is commissioned to acquaint him with your Lordships and his Excellency's joint determination and he is resolved not to consent to the continuance either of himself or his family here a resolution which as I conceive it to be conformable to your wishes, I shall not be instrumental without further instructions from your Lordship in diverting him from."

In reply to this, Lord cornwallis communicated to the Resident on 22nd April, 1788, as follows :—"The great objections to his Royal Highness's residing in the Vizier's dominions must be apparent to himself. But even should his Excellency be inclined to Relax from his resolution on that subject, I should particularly object to his fixing himself at Cawnpore, Furruckabad or Annopshire, because it would facilitate and encourage a continuance of his communications and Intrigues with the different parties now struggling for power, which could produce no solid advantage to himself and would carry an appearance of connivance on our part highly inconsistent with that strict neutrality which we have declared it to be our resolution to maintain.

I can by no means consent to his remaining even in any part of the province of Benares. I have no doubt of the Prince's disposition being naturally mild but unluckily there seems to be much levity in his character and little recollection of all the circumstances of his present situation I cannot therefore flatter myself on the hopes that a mutual satisfaction will be uniform and lasting between us—It will however be my earnest desire that he may never have a pretext to state amongst other grounds for discontent that I have upon any point whatever deceived him,—on that account I wish that in your conversations you should be perfectly explicit with him on the principal subjects which are likely to produce future remonstrances on both sides. On my part I cannot suffer the irregularities of his followers in this country to pass unnoticed, and I am apprehensive of being solicited by him for leave to come to Calcutta, for increase of allowances and for political interference in his favour.

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Your own good sense will suggest to you a number of strong arguments in support of the resolutions which we have adopted upon all the above heads, and your inclination will lead you to urge them with every possible degree of delicacy and respect—were he capable of Judging properly of his own situation, you would find little difficulty in shewing him that until some favourable turn should appear in the affairs of his Family, the true dignified line of conduct for him, would be to lead a private and economical life. But however unsuccessful you may prove in persuasion, I wish you not to be deficient in stating plainly the necessity of his conforming on the most material points—You may explicitly declare, or rather repeat that as we desire no accession of Territory, no consideration can induce us to depart from our system of strict neutrality, and that as the whole of our Revenues are allotted to the support of our Civil Establishments, and for the maintenance of large armies to protect our honour and interests in the different parts of India, or for the extinction of the enormous Debts which we contracted during the late expensive war, all solicitations for pecuniary assistance in any form, whether for Khelauts, travelling charges and ca and ca or in any other manner will be entirely fruitless and that his making them can answer no sort of purpose but that of giving me the pain of refusing them—Upon this Principle the money that you have already advanced to him, must certainly be on account of his monthly allowance as being conformable to our general resolution and as it will tend to convince him that we are determined to abide by it—But as an immediate reimbursement of the whole sum might occasion real distress to him I have no objection to its being repaid by reasonable installments from his monthly receipts although I am not perfectly convinced of his Excellency's inability to make the advances himself I will agree to pay his Royal Highness's allowances from the Company's Treasury for the remainder of the Fusselee year 1195 but I shall expect to be repaid in money in the beginning of the year 1196 and to prevent altercations upon such trivial subjects with the Prince, it will be satisfactory to me if

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Hyder Beg will consent with a good grace, that after his arrival in the Company's territories his allowance shall be regularly accounted for and paid in Calcutta Sicca Rupees.

Instead of insisting on the Prince's proceeding directly to Rajmahal, I will not object, to his halting at Sassaram in Behar till the rams are over, but I cannot agree to his remaining in any part of Benares and I wish you to give him clearly to understand that I shall take no concern about his allowances, if upon any pretext whatever he makes an unnecessary stay in the Vizier's Dominions."

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THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO OPEN A PUBLIC GRANARY IN TIRHOOT IN THE REGIME OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (BASED ONTHE MUZAFFARPUR COLLECTORATE RECORDS.)

By Surajdeo Narain, M.A., B.L., Asst. Professor of History, G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur.

The Collector of Tirhoot was informed for the first time through a letter received from G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council in their Revenue Department, dated the 8th October, 1794 (1), that the government had resolved to establish Public Granaries in different parts of the country in order to answer Exingencies in seasons of scarcity'. It was mentioned in the letter that the time was particularly favourable for putting the scheme into effect without delay as there was a bright prospect of 'an abundant harvest in the country'. The Sub-Secretary asked for certain informations in this connection and the reply sent by the Collector in his letters dated the 22nd October and 25th October, 1794, contains a lot of informations of economic value in the last decade of the 18th century.

The Collector was confindent of the fact, as mentioned in his reply, that he could purchase one Lac Maund of Paddy or even more, if permitted, without 'distress to the country in any respect whatever'. He quoted the prevailing rate of paddy during the year 1793-94 as four to five maunds a rupee. On the question of whether it was advisable for the government to store rice or paddy, it was suggested that the storing of rice would result in a great loss, as it required costant drying at a heavy cost, and hence it was profitable to store paddy instead of rice. It was pointed out in reply to another querry that for making purchases of paddy, the best course was to advance to the Zamindars and Rayats at the beginning of the paddy season and enter

1. Referred to in a letter from the Collector, Tirhoot, to G. H. Barlaw, Sub-Secretary, to the Governor-General-in Council in Revenue Dept., dated Zillah Tirhoot, the 22nd October 1794.
2. Ibid.
3. From same to the same, dated the 25th October, 1794.

into a contract with them for the supply of grain at an appointed time. The Collector was however apprehensive of the fact that the traders and grain-merchants might try to raise the prices in order to defeat the purpose of the measure, but that could be prevented by an equitable distribution of advances throughout the entire rice-growing areas of the district.

In the correspondence under reference a proposal was made to distribute the granaries or storing places all over the district. They were to be constructed on high spots near rivers so that they might be safe from the ravages of flood and at the same time be easily carried from the places of storage to other parts in the country due to cheap transport facilities. The following is a list of places recommended in the various parts of the Zillah for the storing of paddy in public granaries :—

(1) Name of the place suggested for storage	(2) Pergunnah.	(3) Proximity to a river.	(4) Remarks
1. In the vicinity of the Fort Darbhungah.	...	Situated on the banks of the Bagmatty	Detatched from the Town Transpor facilities cheap.
2. Bowarrah ...	Hattey ...	5 Coses from the Kamla Naddy ...	,,
3 Bawangamah ...	Narsingpoor Koosah...	8 Coses from the Koosah River ...	,,
4. Gorah ...	Tirsutt ...	5 Coses from the Bukkiah River ...	,,
5. Rewassey ...	Bubrah ...	On the bank of the Bukkiah River ...	,,
6. Belsah ...	Toorkey (mentioned as Zillah).	,, ,, ...	,,
7. Hajeepore Tawn ...	...	(On the bank of the Great Gandak)	,,
8. Singia ...	Gurjowl ...	...	,,
9. Chunwarra ...	Nve & Buttsella ...	On the bank of the Little Gandak ...	,,
10. Rewah ...	Rutty ...	,, Great ,, ...	,,
11. Mowbazeedpoor ...	Belagutch ...	3 Coses from the Ganges ...	,,
12. Pookrerah ..	Seriessa ...	On the banks of the Little Gandak ...	,,

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It is interesting to note that the rivers, being the cheapest and easiest means of communication in those times, almost all the granaries were proposed to be constructed either on the bank of a river or a little away from it. The roads were mostly unsafe and as far as possible the land-routes were avoided. A letter from the Collector of Tirhoot to the Board of Revenue, dated the 3rd September, 1794 speaks of 'the exceedingly bad state of the Public Roads in the District which required immediate attention for affording greater facilities to the travellers from the frequent attacks 'both of Robbers and Tygers, particularly in the North and Eastern Pergunnahs.

There were certain querries with respect to the starting of public granaries which could not be answered by the Collector in the letter of the 22nd October, referred to above. The answers to the remaining questions were sent three days later. In this correspondence we find further interesting details with reference to the method of storing paddy as practised by the inhabitants of the soil, description of their 'Bokhars' or Grain Gollahs, the wastage involved in the native method and the precautionary methods taken to prevent it etc. The natives of the place, as the letter says, 'erected good strong Golahs in which they preserve their grain for 5 to 6 years' A Golah was usually of an oblong form made of 'Tall trees, split Bamboes and Matts with a Grass Chappar on'. The bottom was raised 2 feet from the ground and inside there was mud plasterring all round. A 'Bokhara' or Golah 18 ft. long, 12 ft. broad, and $5\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high could store 800 or 1000 maunds of grain and it could be constructed at a total cost of nearly Rs. 20 only. The only precaution for preventing loss or damage to the paddy stored was to dry it up thoroughly for 7 days in the hot months of the month of Phagun and then the paddy, if stored, would remain 'untouched for 5 to 6 years'. The wastage involved in the process of drying was 12 maunds

4. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to William Cowper, President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Tirhoot, the 3rd September, 1794.

5. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council, 25th October, 1794.

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per hundred in the weight, but this happened only in the first year. The Collector stated that there would be a little additional cost in guarding the public granaries. It would be necessary to appoint two Chowkidars for each granary 'both as a guard over the grain and to keep off the rats',and a Chowkidar could be had at Rs. 2 per mensem only'. It was also suggested that it would be profitable to purchase paddy when available at a cheap rate e.g. in Augran and Poosa' and dispose the whole or a part thereof in 'Assar and Sawan' when it was the dearest in order to make up the loss caused by drying in the first year and also by expenditure in the erecting of the 'Bokharas' or granaries.

The order of the Governor-General-in-Council 'to take measures for purchasing eighty thousand maunds of paddy of the Current Year's Produce' of the district 'without delay' was communicated to the Collector in a letter dated the 31st October, 1794. The view of the government, as expressed in the letter, was 'to purchase paddy for ready money in the markets in the neighbourhood of the Golahs or by contract, under good security, with the native grain-dealers and Byoparries to deliver the grain free of all cost at the Golahs'. The Collector was instructed to keep proper accounts and it was expected of him that he would procure the grain 'at the most moderate rate.' The grain was to be stored at only two places in the district which would be most conveniently situated from the point of view of facilities for the collection of grain and also for transportation to any part of the country, when required. The grain was to be stored in Golahs, each containing 3000 maunds or more, if possible. The Golahs were to be so constructed as to be weather-proof and also secure from fire, inundation or damage from any other quarter such as insects, rats, etc.

On the 10th November, 1794, the Collector while acknowledging receipt of the letter of the 31st ultimo,

6. From G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary, to G. Arbuthnot, Collector of Tirhoot, Dated Council Chamber, the 31st October 1794, (Rev. Dept.)

7. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary; dated Tirhoot, the 10th November, 1794.

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expressed his desire to carry out the orders as communicated, but he made two suggestions namely (a) that the whole quantity of paddy (80 thousands maunds() be purchased and stored at only one place in the vicinity of Durbunga instead of two in any parts of the district and (b) that instead of making ready-money purchases in the market, the paddy should be purchased by only one method e.g. by contract with the grain-dealers and Byoparies—a method which was now considered, to be 'the most preferable for the price to a certainty will be considerably enhanced in the Markets immediately it is known that the Government are making purchases'. With regard to the dimmensions of the Golahs the Collector said that it was the opinion of the native grain-dealers that one Golah should not atore 'a greater quantity than 1000 maunds' if preservation of the grain was a metter to be kept in view.

The Governor-General-in-Council approved the suggestions of the Collector finally' for storing the whole of the grain which you have been authorized to purchase at Durbhunga' and further accepted his view' to procure the grain by contract proposed in the letter. This order was communicated on the 28th November, 1794.

In the beginning of February, 1795, the Collector made a reference to the government seeking orders to postpone the purchase of paddy for the present year particularly in view of the changed circumstances in the Zillah of Tirhoot It was stated that while the price of paddy, as already reported in a previous correspondence, was 4 to 5 maunds in the previous year, the present price was $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per rupee in the every part of the district'. The abnormal rise in price was attracted to the fact that the Mahajans or traders in Corn had become aware of the intentions of government to start granaries in various parts of the country and they are endeavouring to purchase up all the grains in the country with the expectation of making their own terms'. Due to spread of wild rumours the people of the district had been

8. From the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General in Council to G. Arbuth-not, collector, dated Council Chamber, the 28th November, 1794.

9. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary, dated Tirhoot, the 6th February, 1793.

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led to believe 'of the certainty of an approaching famine due to the intended policy of purchasing grain'. The Collector further wrote that 'it is customary to purchase and weigh off in the month of Phagun but such has been the panic this year.....that the Byoparies began weighing off their grain in Poos and Mang in its green state by which they will loose at least $\frac{1}{4}$th in weight, and independent of the loss they must sustain in having enhanced the price by their folly. Should a stop be made to the purchase they will discover their error and be convinced that the intention of the Government went only to the general good of the Country and the Inhabitants; I have then no doubt whatever that the grain might be purchased on as profitable a footing as I had the honour of stating in my first addresses.

The receipt of this correspondence was acknowledged by the Sub-Secretary in his letter dated the 6th -March, 1795, in which it was stated that 'the Governor-General desires you will not make any further purchases of grain until the ensuing season, should you still be of opinion that it is inexpedient for the present enhanced price of the article.'

Thus the scheme for the storing of paddy in the public granary was shelved for the time being. I have tried to hunt out the records of the Local Collectorate from 1795 to 1800 but could not find any paper which could throw light on the fact when the purchase of grain for public storage was taken in hand. From evidence available it seems that the rise in the price of grains was maintained in the succeeding years due to various factors such as the spread of false rumours about an impending famine, as mentioned above, the speculative methods of the native traders and businessmen, bad harvest during the year 1795-96 due to flood caused by the rise of rivers etc., and this must have been a very important reason in preventing the purchase of paddy or any other grain for storage in the Public Granary as finally decided upon by the Governor-General in Council.

During the years 1795—1800, however, there are two pieces of evidence available, so far as I have been able to find out among the existing records, for the purchase by government

10. From H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, to Arbuthnot, Collector, Tirhoot, dated Council Chamber, the 6th March, 1795.

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of grain for military purposes. On the 15th April, 1795, the Board of Revenue was authorised by the Governor-General-in-Council 'to disburse such sums as may be necessary for the purchase of Ten Thousand Maunds of Grain for the Cavalry Stud and for the erection of Temporary Golahs to contain the same at the stations pointed out by the Superintendent. On the 24th December, 1798, it was resolved by the Governor-General's Council 'that the Board of Revenue be immediately directed to issue orders to the Collectors of Benares and the several Collectors in Bihar to purchase and send up to the Fort of Allahabad such quantities of fresh grain as each of them may be desired by the Residency at Lucknow'. The forwarding letter of the 26th December, 1798, instructed the Collectors to commence purchasing immediately. In accordance with the orders of te government, the Collctor of Tirhoot despatched 34, 166 maunds and 10 seers of grain on the 10th September, 1798, which reached its destination after considerable delay caused by 'getting through different rivers in order to reach the Ganges . There might have been similar other instances of the purchase of grain by government though further materials on this point are not locally available.

From what has been said above we come to certain conclusions which may be summarised thus :—

(1) The acquisition of Tirhoot along with other parts of North Bihar was of immense advantage to the English East India Company as Tirhoot has always been a land famous for the fertility of its soil and its bumper harvests inspite of the natural calamities caused by draught, flood etc. from which it has had to suffer in all periods of history.

(2) Rice then as now constituted the most important agricultural product of Tirhoot and there were rich rice-

11. Letter dated Council Chamber. the 13th April, 1795, G. Dowdeswell, Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
12. Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council in the Political Department dated the 24th Dec. 1793 Forwarded to the Collector on 26th Dec, 1798
13. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to Lt. Colonel Hyd Allahabad dated Tirhoot, the 31st January, 1800.

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growing areas all over the district, particularly in Zillah Durbhungah which was then subordinate to the Muzaffarpur Collectorate. Rivers provided irrigation facilities and the silt deposited on soil during the time of flood was helpful in increasing the productivity of the land. Paddy was grown to such an extent in the last decade of the 18th century that it could be sold at the rate of 4 to 5 maunds during the year 1793-94 though this price due to various factors mentioned above, could not be maintained long.

(3) The native merchants and 'Byoparies' carried on a flourishing trade in corn and they maintained their own granaries which could contain 800 to 1000 maunds of grains. They were a shrewd class of intelligent people who knew to study the food situation in advance and act accordingly. They could forecast the future market tendencies and were not afraid of doing speculative work in their business.

(4) Inspite of the high sounding things which were said in connection with the starting of a Public Granary we find that the English officials were guided in this matter, as in many others, more by business and administrative consideration than 'by the general good of the country and its Inhabitants'. The scheme was shelved because the price of paddy had gone high and its purchase would not be as 'profitable' now (1795) as the Collector had imagined in the beginning. If grain had really to be stored 'to answer Exingencies in seasons of scarcity' it would have been extremely desirable to finish the transaction as early as possible and without any consideration of loss or gain.

(5) Till the closing years of the century the government of the Company had not yet been successful in fully establishing peace and order in Tirhoot. The Police had not been properly organised and life was insecure. Robbery and dacoity prevailed, and the condition of roads was so bad and deplorable that the travellers and merchants frequently suffered from the attacks 'both of Robbers and Tygers, particularly in the North and Eastern Pergunnahs of Tirhoot.

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THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE FROM 1784 to 1833.

By

(Prof. Sachchidananda, Patna College)

Since 1773, the Central Executive in India consisted of the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal and his council. The Regulating Act vested in them not only "the whole civil and military government of the said presidency"[1] but also thé "power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively", as far as the making of war and peace was eoncerned, except in cases of emergency and direct orders from the Directors in London. The Governors-in-council were required "to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premesis" from the Governor-General in council, to submit to them; "advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall came to their knowledge, relating to the government, revenues or interest of the company" and to forward all rules and regulations framed by themselves. The offending Governors–in–council could be suspended by the Governor–General in Council.[2]

The first Governor-General and four councillors were named in the Act. They were to remain in office for five years and were not removable in the meantime, except by His Majesty....upon representation made by the Court of Directors. After the first five years the appointments were to be made by the Court of Directors.[3] The authority was vested in the Governor–General and council jointly and all matters were to be decided by the majority of those present. The Governor-General was given a casting vote in case of equality of votes due to death, removal or absence of any member of the council. The Governor-General-in-council were empowered

1. Clause VII of the East India Company Act 1773.
2. Clause IX of the Act.
3. Clause X of the Act.

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to make and issue rules ordinances and regulations. for the good order and civil Government[1] of the Company' settlement of Fort William and the plans and factor subordinate thereto provided that they were not repugnant to the laws of the realm. "The rules and regulations were not valid until duly registered and published in the Supreme Court....with the consent and approbation of the said court" and could be set aside by the King-in-council on application of any person or persons in India or in England.[2]

The Amending act of 1781 recognised and confirmed the appellate jurisdiction of the Governor-General in Council or any committee thereof in cases decided by the country-courts. The Governor-General in council was to be a court of appeal and record and its judgments were to be final except in civil suits involving a sum of £5,000 or more in which case appeal lay to the King-in-council. The Governor-General-in-council was to act as a revenue court as well, hearing and determining action for offences committed in the collection of revenue, provided it did not inflict death, maiming or perpetual imprisonment as punishment. The Act also empowered in Governor-General in council to frame regulations for the provincial courts and councils from time to time. The regulations were to remain in force unless disallowed by the King-in-council within two years. The hostile relations prevailing between the Governor-General-in-Council and Supreme court after the passing of the Act of 1773 made it difficult to frame regulations until in 1780 the Governor-General-in-Council decided to act against the law and to do without registration and sanction of the Supreme Court. In 1780 the Governor-General-in-council framed additional regulations for the administration of justice in the provincial courts and issued a revised Code in 1781.

Neither the additional regulations nor the revised code appears to have been registered or approved by

1. Ciause 36 of the Act.
2. Do.

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the Supreme Court. In Act of 1781 vindicated the action of the Governor-General-in-council by freeing them from the necessity of registering and getting the sanction of the Supreme Court for their new regulations for the Provincial Courts and Councils.

The Act 1773 made the Governor-General depenpent upon the majority in his council. This led to endless intrigues and differences between Warren Hastings and his council were chronic.[1] At times at hours of grave crises Hastings was overruled by the majority and he had to abide by decisions he did not like. "The present government has proceeded on principles diametrically apposed to mine" he once wrote.[2] Pitts' India Act reduced the strength of the Supreme Council by one.[3] When Cornwallis was offered the Governor-General-ship of Bengal, he accepted it only on being empowered to override the majority in the council in special cases.

An act passed in 1786[4] conferred upon the Governor-General this power, though the dissentient councillors were allowed the privilege of recording written protests.

Pitts' Act made it possible for the King of England under his sign manual, countersigned by the Secretary of the state or for the Court of Directors of the United Company to remove or recall the Governor-General of Bengal or any member of his council.[5] Whenever any vacancy occurred in these posts by death, resignation

1. For two years after passing the Regulation Act, the Governor General was steadily outvoted and over ruled by the hostile majority in his council. As he himself wrote—"my situation truly painful and motifying, deprived of the powers with which I have been invested by the solemn act of legislature... ...,denied the respect that is due to my station and character, denied even the right of personal civility etc. etc." Forrest selections from state papers in Foreign Dept. of the Government of India II, 279.
2. Letter to Laurence Sullivan, a leading director of the E. I. Co. dated March 21,1775.
3. Clause 18 of the Pitt's India Act.
4. Burke opposed this measure as an attempt to introduce and arbitrary and dispotic Government in India.
5. C/22 of the Pitts' India Act.

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or recall, the Court of Directors were to fill them from among the covenanted servants of the Co. except in the posts of Governor-General or the Governors of Presidencies. By the Act of 1786 the provision requiring the approbation of the King for the choice of the Governor-General was repealed.[1] But as the crown still retained the power of recall this repeal was not of much practical importance.[2] The same act enabled the combination of the offices of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief under one person. If there was a separate Commander-in-chief, he could not succeed to the office of the Governor-General unless thereto appointed by the Court of Directors. No resignation from the officers of the Governor-General or his council was to be deemed legal unless it shall be made by an instrument in writing under the hand of the officers.[3]

The Governor-General and the council of Fort William were given the power and authority to superintend, control and direct the several presidencies under the company in all such points as relate to any transaction with the country-power or to war and peace or to the application of the revenues or forces of such presidencies and settlements in time of war or any such point as shall from time to time be specially referred by the Court of Directors of the said company to their superintendance and control. Even if the presidencies entertain any doubt about an instruction from the Governor-General-in-

1. C/25 of the Pitts' India Act.
2. 26 Geo III, c. 25 quoted in Ilberts' historical introduction p.67.
3. C/28 of the Act of 1784-Hasting's resignation C. H. I. IV. On March 27, 1775 Warren Hastings had authorised his Agent in England, Colonel Macleane to signify to the Directors his intention to resign. But soon after, he had withdrawn this authority from his Agent. The Court had accepted the resignation and appointed Wheler to fill the seat in the Council consequent upon Claverings' elevation to Governor Generalship. But soon after Monson died and Wheler was nominated to that vacancy. Hastings had fixed no date for his resignation. he claimed that be would continue in office. But Clavering would not accept the position. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court which decided in Hastings favour.

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Council, they had to obey implicity unless they received positive orders from the Court of Directors or its Secret Comittee repugnant to the instructions of the Governor-General-in-Council.[2] Regarding matters to be discussed in the Supreme Council it was laid dawn that it shall consider, first of all questions proposed by the Governor-General.[3]

To pursue scheme of conquest and extension of dominion in India were declared to be measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of the British Nation. Therefore it was not lawful for the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, without the express command and authority of the Court of Directors, either to declare war or commence hostilities or enter into any treaty, make war against any native powers or any treaty for guaranting the territory of any native prince. But exception was made in case hostilities have been actually commenced or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British Nation in India or against some princes dependent thereupon, whose territory the United Company should be by treaty bound to defend. When this happened to be the case the Governor-General-in-council was to communicate the needs with full intelligence and information quickly to the Court of Directors.[4] The subordinate presidencies could not commence hostilities without express orders from the Supreme Government or from the Court of Directors. Every treaty and engagement with powers was to be submitted to the Governor-General in Council for ractification. If the Governor or any councillor of any subordinate presidency willfully disobeyed any order of the Supreme Government he was liable to suspension from the exercise of his respective powers and functions. He was also required to submit to the Supreme Government copies of all his orders, resolutions and acts in

1. Clause 31 of the Pitts' India Act.
2. Claude 32 of Do.
3. Clause 33.
4. Clause 34.

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council and also advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters which would come to his knowledge. [1]

The Governor-General of Fort William was empowered to arrest any person or persons, suspected of carrying on any illicit correspondence dangerous to the peace and safety of the settlement or of the British possessions in India, with any of the princes, Rajas or zamindars. Within five days of his arrest charges would be delivered to him and the accused was permitted to plead his defence in writing together with a list of much witnesses as he shall desire to be examined in support of his defence. [2]

The Charter Act of 1793 contained many provisions relating to the Central Executive in India. If a vacancy occurred in the post of the Governor-General or the membership of his council provision was made for short time arrangement pending the arrival or appointment of permanent incumbent. The member of the Supreme Council next to the Commander-in-Chief was to act as Governor-General unless the Commander-in-Chief was provisionally appointed to the vacancy. A senior merchant was to be appointed to a vacancy in the council by the Governor-General or Governor as the case may be. The Commander-in-Chief when not the Governor-General might be made the second member of the Supreme Council by the Court of Directors but he was not entitled to any salary in respect of his being a member of the said council unless the same was granted to him especially by the Court of Directors. It was laid down that when the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal visited any presidency he was to be a member of the Council there during the period of his stay. The Act reiterated the fact that the King could remove any servant of the company in India, but this did not in any way prevent the Directors from recalling their servants. The departure from India of the Governor-General with the intention of returning to Europe was to be taken as resignation from the post.

1. Clause 36 of the Pitts' India Act.
2. Clause 53 ,,

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If the Governor-General, Governor or a councillor wanted to resign he was to deliver it in writing to the Secretary of the Public Department of his presidency. Only then could it be deemed valid. All orders and proceedings of the Governor-General in Council before being put into execution were to be signed by the Chief Secretary of the Council by the authority of the Governor-General in Council.

The Act fnrther maintained Governor-General's power of direction, superintendence and control over the affairs of the other presidencies. When the Governor-General would send orders or instructions to the presidencies he was to mention threin the date and time of the receipt of the last despatches from the Court of Directors through the Board of Control. If the presidencies received any instructions from the Court of Directors contrary or repugnant to those from the Governor-General they would have to send to the letter copies of the despatches with their time and date. War could not be declared or hostilities commenced by the Governor-General without receipt of instructions from the Court of Directors but preparations for hostility could be made. Similarly the Governments of the presidencies could not declare war save on orders from Fort William or the Court of Directors. The Governor-General, if he liked could adopt, suspend or reject any order or measure on which he deferred from his council. He was to take full responsibility for any consequences the execution of the measure might entail. This power was not given to an acting Governor-General. When on tour in other presidencies the Governor-General was to nominate the senior most member of the Supreme Council as Vice-President to preside over meetings of the Supreme Council during the formers' absence. Even while absent from head quarters the Governor-General could issue orders and instructions to officers of the Company in any presidency.

The Court of Directors with the approval of the Board might one or all powers of the Governor-General to act on his sole authority. Neglect to execute the orders of the

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Court of Directors was to be deemed as a misdemeanor and was to be quickly punished. The Governor-General was also forbidden to indulge in trade and commerce on his own private account.

Lord Wellesley gave some thought to the problems of Indian administration. On July 9, 1900 a despatch was sent from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors detailing therein the nature and extent of the powers and responsibilities of the Governor-General in Council and suggesting ways and means for the better discharge of their functions. The despatch said that the British administration in Bengal was based on the British constitution. The constitution prevailing in Bengal in those days needed a modification so as to make it suited to the conditions obtaining in Bengal. Though the lines between executive, legislative and judicial matters were distinctly drawn, it was necessary that the Governor-General in Council should exercise exclusively the entire legislative authority. Though Indians were extended from all participation in the legislative authority, abundant security was afforded to them and it was understood that the Governor-General-in-Council would always legislate for the happiness and benefit of Indians. The first act of the Governor-General in Council was the confirmation of the ancient laws of Indians in all matters connected with their religious prejudices or their domestic relations. Judges who in course of trials came into contact with the masses, could propose such general or local laws as they thought fit. As a safeguard against every abuse of the legislative power vested in the Governor-General in Council it was made obligatory for him to point and publish every legislative Act in a form that renders him responsible to his country for the unjust or unwise exercise of that power.

The executive authority of the Government was of necessity vested in the Governor-General in Council. It conducted the foreign policy of the Government. In the internal Government it enjoyed vast discretionary powers but Wellesley hoped that with the speedy progress of

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legislation it will be slowly diminished. The Governor-General in Council also constitute the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Courts. Wellesley thought that political security demanded the continuance of the executive and legislative authority in the Governor-General in Council. But there was no reason why the judicial work should continue to be performed by that body. The Home Government could effectively comfort the executive and legislative activities of the Governor-General in Council. But it could not control his judicial work and the Governor-General in Council may render the laws altogether nugatory by abuses, omissions or delays in their administration. The security of private rights and property demanded that judicial authority should be delegated to some other body. Wellesley also thought that the constant appearance of the Governor-General in Council in open court of justice would not be compatible with his dignity. Moreover the presence of the Governor-General in-Council in open court prevent the pleading of cases with full freedom. Another pressing argument in favour of the abolition of judicial authority was that the conscientious discharge of duties of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat would itself oecupy the whole time of the Governor-General in Council. These courts did not only dispense justice but supervised subordinate courts functioning under them and proposed legislation for the consideration of Governor-General in Council. On account of these important considerations Wellesley recommended to the Court of Directors the appointment of separate judges for these courts.

The executive functions of the Governor-General in Council consisted of two parts. Firstly it exercised the executive authority of the Government of the British possession in India and secondly it was the chief representative of the company in their commercial capacity. Relations with native states and maintenance of peace and good Government in British India occupied most of the time of the Governor-General in Council. Another important branch of the executive authority is the super-

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vision over civil and military affairs of the subordinate presidencies. Wellesley was of opioion that this control should be extended to all matters in any respect with the unity, strength and stablity of the British power in India.[1] The Governor-General-in-Council had to do the the superintendence of the subordinate settlements and of British acquisitions from the French and the Dutch.

As the chief representative of the Company in thair commercial capacity, the Governor General in Council had the immediate superintendence of their commercial concerns in Bengal and exercises a general control over the provision of the investment at the other presidencies including a considerable degree of attention to the affairs in China.

The secretariat of the Governor-General-in-council consisted of one secretary and four sub-secretaries. Wellesley

1. One of the grounds on which Lord Wellesley was censured by the court of Directors was excessive interference in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies. "Before his time, observed the court, "it was not the practice of the Supreme Government to interfere, unless upon reference from the subordinate presidencies, in the minute details of their affairs, much less to oblige them of any authority political of military with the law has invested with them. The court concluded: "it appears to have been the intention of Marquis Wellesley to concentrate all the political powers of British India in the person of the Governor General and to consider the whole as forming, in respect of him one Government through every passed and ramification of which his authority was practically and constantly to prevade. Quoting instances of the Governor Generals' interference in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies, the court summoned up by saying :—Thus the principle of extending the controlling powers of the Supreme Government over all the details of other presidencies in not only directly avowed but even a decent freedom of opinion on their part censured as a resistance of it. We are aware that it might be difficult and would be inexpedient to define by any exact line the limits beyond which the interference of the Supreme Government ought not in any case or circumstances to go, even in the internal affairs of the subordinate presidencies and we would be far from countenancing in them anything like a sprit of disobedience or resistance, but we think it clear that the law did not intend that the Supreme Government should assume the direction in detail of the business of other Governments as it does the direction of country under the Bengal Government ".

See P. E. Robert's : India Under Wellesley. P. 271.

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impressed upon the Court the necessity of bringing men of ability, integrity and experience to work in these capacities. Burdened as he with arduous work and heavy responsibilities, he determined that all public papers shall be authenicated by the signature of the secretary to the department. Correspondence with the court of Directors and the subordinate presidencies were however signed by the Governor-General-in-council.

Thc second suggestion were not acted upon when the Charter Act of 1813 was passed. This Act did not touch the Central Executive, for the stipulation contained to the effect that the Court of the Directors could make appointments to the officers of the Governor General, Governor and Commander-in-chief subject to the approbation of the crown. Thus the control of the crown over higher appointments which had been eclipsed since 1786 was regained.

During the rule of Wellesley's successors the hold of the central government over the subordinate presidencies seems to have loosened. In one of his minutes' (Dated Sept. 14,1831) Lord William Bentinck says that "this control was rather nominal than real". It had been confined to general members of government, to political negotiations, to the making of treaties to the declaration of war, to great financial arrangements and to the confirmation of all regulations. In the data of the adminstration of the subordinate presidencies the supreme government did not interfere. The Supreme government thought that after an indiscretion has been committed by the subordinate government it would be embarrassing and humiliating for the latter if the former condemned it roundly. Bentinck also records that the provincial governments objected strongly to their regulations being made subject to the sanction of the Supreme government. But according to his opinion they were making an inordinate claim. Bentinck's council nevertheless thought that the duties of the Supreme government, should be exclusively those of general control and superintendences. Bentick himself stood for a more effective control over the

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subordinate presidencies. The interference should be rather of check, of a preventing and restraining than of an active and meddling character. The Supreme government should come in aid and not in supression of the home authority. He suggested that the presidencies should send all reports their proceedings directly to the Supreme government.

Lord William Bentick made a valuable suggestion regarding the reconstruction of the supreme council. As a large part of India by his time came under Company it would have been advisable to follow uniform policy. So the Supreme council should be composed of the Governor General and one councillor from each presidency. The knowledge and experience of the whole world would thus be combined for the general improvement. "How much would the revenue settlement of Bengal have been promoted if by such means the spirit of Sir Thomas Munro's superior management could have been infused and practically brought to bear upon this branch of our adminstration" Minute quoted in A. C. Bannerjee, Indian Constitutional Documents Vol I p. 193. Thus ran his line of thinking.

The Charter Act of 1833 made many changes in the structure and functioning of the Central Executive in India. Hénceforth the Governor General of Fort William was to be called the Governor General of India. A fourth ordinary member was added to the Governor-Generals' council. Unlike the previous three members he was not to be recruited from the Co's covenanted service. He would be appointed by the Court of Directors subject to the approbation of His Majesty to be signified in writing by his Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Control. It was provided that this member would not be entitled to sit or vote in the council except in meetings convened for making laws and regulations. The Commander-in-chief of Bengal was to be appointed an extraordinary member of the council.

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Extensive legislative powers were granted to the Governor-Géneral in Council. It would make laws and regulations repealing, amending or altering laws and regulations whatever were in force in British India. It was entitled to make laws for all persons, whether British or native foreigners others and for all counts of justice whether established by His Majesty's charters or other wise and the jurisdictions thereof. All servants of the East Indian Company within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with the Comany were bound by these laws. But the legislative power was limited in so far as the Governor General-in-Council had not the power to repeal, vary or suspend or affect any provision of the Charter Act or any provisions for the Acts for punishing Mutiny and desertions of officers and soldiers or any provisions of any Acts to be passed in feture affecting the Company or its territories and inhabitants. It could not make a law or regulation which would affect any perogative of the crown of the authority of the parliament or the constitution and rights of the East Indian Company or any part of the unwritten laws and constitution of the United Kingdom upon which may depend on any degree the allegience of any person to the crown or the sovereignity or dominion of the crown over any part of British India. The Court of Directors could disallow any Act of regulation passed by the Governor General in council. Laws made by the Governor General-in-council henceforth enjoyed the same force as Acts of Parliament. Laws thus made did not need to be registered in any court. Without the sanction of the court of Directors, the Governor General-in-council could not make any law or regulation were by powers shall be given any Courts of justice, other than those established by Royal Charters, to sentenced to death any of His Majesty's natural bound subjects bound in Europe or children of such subjects or which shall abolish any of the Courth of Directors. the Governor General-in-council could not make any law or regulation were by powers shall be givn any Courts of justice, other than those established by Royal

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Charters, to scntenced to death any of His Majesty's natural bound subjects bound in 'Europe or children of such subjects or which shall abolish any of the Courts of Justice established by Royal Charters.

The Directors framed rules for the functioning of the Governor-General-in-council with the approbation of the Board of Control. Such rules had the same force as the provisions of the Act itself though such rules had to be laid before both houses of Parliament in the session just after approval by the board of Control. At the time of framing laws and regulations the Governor Generals' council was to have at least three ordinary members present. When discharging other functions only one ordinary member besides the Governor-General was essential. In case of a tie, the Governor-General was to have a casting vote.

The Governor-General was given power to override the majority in his council if he thought it necessary for maintaining the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India. The dissentient members had the previlage to get their views entered in the secret consultation. The Governor Generals' Council could meet even in the Presidencies of Bombay or Madras. In such a case, the Governor of the Presidency in which the Council meets acted as an extra-ordinary member of the Council.

In the Act itself, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for Indian people was expressly declared to be full and complete. Right was reserved to Parliament to control, supercede and prevent all proceedings and Acts of the Governor-General-in-Council, to repeal all laws and regulations made by it. All enactments made by the council were to be laid before both houses of Parliament.

The Governor-General of India was to remain the Governor of Bengal also. The Governor of subordinate presidency could make or suspend a law or regulation only till the time when the Governor General had not made his decision known. Moreover no Governor could create a new post, grant any salary, gratuity or allowance without the previous sanction of the Governor General-in-council.

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The Governor-General-in-Council was to have full authority to superintend and control the subordinate governments in all points relating to the civil and military administration. The presidency Governors has the right of suggesting draft laws to Governor-General-in-Council when the Governor-General visited any presidency the powers of Governor was not to be suspended for this reason. Presidency Governors were required to submit all important papers to the Governor General. The Governor General was to appoint a member of his council to be Deputy Governor of Bengal.

The King could make an appointment to a post in India which had not been filled for two months by the Court of Directors. He had also the power of dismissing any servant of the Company. Within eight days of the King's order it was to be countersigned by the president of the Board of Control and handed over to the Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Company. The Directors themselves could dismiss any servant except that appointed by the crown. Such a servant could be dismissed with the consent of the crown.

The salaries of important officers was also fixed. The Governor General of India was to receive 240,000 sicca rupees per annum and ordinary members of the council were give 96,000 sicca rupees per annum. The provisions relating to the resignation of the Governor General and disobedience to the court of Directors remained the same as before.

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THE RAPE OF INDIAN SHIPS IN THE INDIAN WATERS, 1612

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1. *Policy of Reprisal Decided by the English and its Advantages*

After blockading Mocha (May 14—June 19, 1611) and exacting some compensation from the Turks, Sir Henry Middleton, the General of the Sixth Voyage of the English E. I. C., sailed towards India and reached the bar of Surat on 26th September, 1611. Battling against Portuguese rivalry and resistance, denied trade privileges by the Mughals and finally ordered by Mukarrab Khan, Governor of Cambay to leave the place, Middleton sailed from Surat on February 11, 1612. Since journey to Bantam was not permitted by the monsoon, he decided to return to the Red Sea, and avenge himself on those powers that had injured the Turks, the Mughals, and the Portuguese.[1]

This policy is set forth in detail by Nicholas Downton (Feb, 1612). "Our best way", he concluded, "is to lie in the way of the Red Sea", where the English would find not only "Ships of Surat and Cambaya with divers others, the subjects of the great Mogul but also men of Diu subject to the Portugals". The capture of these ships would not only injure the Mughals and the Portuguese, but also "be no small disturbance to the Turks at Mocha, for though there were no goods

1. Vide my article on *Indian Merchant Ships and their Skippers in the Red Sea Ports', 1611'*. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 195. See also letter of Richard Cocks to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of E. I. C. (Bantam, 12 January, 1613). L.R.I. 219; letter of Edmond Camden to the Rt. Worshipful Company of Merchants Adventurers in the V111th Voyage for the E. Indies. Bantam, 15th January, 1613. *Ibid*, 226; letter of Thomas Aldworth, Wm. Biddulph & Nicholas Withington to (the E. I. C) Surat, 25 January, 1612. *Ibid* 233—5.

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of theirs thereon, the loss of customs would "greatly pinch & vex them or "spoil the Turks' scale" at Aden & Mocha. While admitting that this would "be thought a great scandal to our nation over all India, amongst those which are Mussulmen", Downton expected that the "rumour" (of scandal) would be "appeased" by the policy of the English of avenging themselves only on the wrong-doers, and of allowing the ships of powers, which did not "harm" the English, like those of Dabhol, Malabar and other places, to pass, unmolested on condition of their leaving Mocha and going to Jedda, the authorities of which had not "wronged" the English. This course would also warn the Mughals and others that had abused the English that "Our nation is not to be so coarsely used", and that if any power would wrong the English, the latter also would "right ourselves on their ships and goods." So reprisal would compel them to duly honour and respect the English. Grant of trade privileges was the only sure means of securing the friendship of the English. Downton felt that as the Mughals had denied the English trade privileges under the influence of the Portuguese, the Mughals "should not be threatened but also pinched."[1] The Mughals could be made to yield only by threat of force or fear of harm.[2]

Middleton's fleet reached Dabhol on the 16th February, 1612. Its Governor, learning that his men had met Middleton's party last year at Mocha, tried to satisfy the English, as it would be otherwise

1. No. 82, 'Nicholas Downton, his opinion, what fit to be done for the time, next ensuing, Written in the Road of Dabul, Feb. 24th, 1611. L. R. I. 155—161. It was written aboard the *Peppercorn* and finished 26th Feb. *Ibid* 161.
2. ".....for they being a proud braggart people longer than they be kept in awe (as it were with a whip) they will insult over and despise all others, but to them which they know can do them harm, they will be ready to kiss their shoe, And if God permit we take more from them than will heal the Company of their loss, and they (English) return them the overplus in other goods, they (English) shall not only win their (Mughals) love, but also gain the reputation to be just men". *Ibid.* 161.

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dangerous to the outgoing mercantile marine of Dabhol.[1] Here Middleton's party captured two ships, viz., (i) a Cochin ship, the *St. Nicholas*, laden principally with dried cocoanuts, and bound for Chaul, and (ii) a frigate of Chaul, bound for Ormuz. After seizing some "bales of raw silk with other things of small value" from the former, and some bags of rice as provision from the latter, the English "dismissed" them.[2]

Leaving Dabhol on 5th March, Middleton's fleet returned to the Straits of Bab-el Mandeb, "to intercept" all ships entering the Red Sea. By this means (i) the English wanted to extract satisfaction from the Turks of Mocha for all wrongs done to them. (ii) They wanted the shippers and merchants of Cambay, Surat and other Mughal subjects to inform their Emperor that "the subjects of the king of England" were loath to "put up with so great abuses unavenged". The English would either capture the goods of Indian ships as a compensation for their own losses in India or at least exchange English mercandise for Indian goods valued at prices prevailing in India. (iii) They also wanted to seize the ships of "the Portugals' town" of Diu and their goods "towards the righting of ourselves against the Portugals"[3]

2. *Indian Ships intercepted at Aden and the Straits*

Accordingly Middleton instructed the *Peppercorn* (under Downton) to remain at Aden (till the end of April) so as to "intercept" or divert the ships of "all

1. L. R. I. 176.
2. *Ibid.* 177. Danvers, in his introduction (*Ibid*, XXXIV) says that both the ships belonged to Cochin & were bound for Chaul; the articles seized are also mentioned differently.
3. *Ibid*, 177. The English further wanted to rescue an English Ship supposed to be at the Straits. So Middleton sent the *Darling* in advance to Socotra to search the missing ship or get news of any Englishmen and instructed her to meet him either at Mount Fellix or at 8 leagues short of Aden'. *Ibid*. p. 162, Richard Cocks informed Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of E. I. C. (12 Jan. 1613) that since the 'Staying' of the ships might involve complications, Middleton wanted Englishmen of the Eighth voyage to leave the nighbourhood with their goods, L. R. I. 219.

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nations, both friends & foes," coming there to the Straits of the Bab-el-Mandeb where Middleton (the *Trades Iacrease* and the *Darling*) would lie in ambush for intercepting them.[1]

Probably some of the Indian merchants and skippers were forewarned of this impending danger. Two very rich and large junks were found by Edmond Camden of the Eighth Voyage unloading their goods at Mocha with great expedition only four days before the arrival of Middleton at the Straits.[2]

Besides diverting two Malabar ships from Aden towards the Babel Mandeb, Downton intercepted several Indian vessels in the Straits & seized their merchandise.

April 9, 1612: (i) Morning—a ship of Larree (Lahari Bandar),[3] having many passengers, bound for Mocha. Downton's merchants searched her and found thereon "divers packs and fardles" of cloth, seeds, various sorts of leather, several jars of butter and of oil (for cooking and burning). Downton 'resolved to take out of her' those packs of Indian cloth which might be of use to the English and some butter and oil for their own needs, before sending her to Mocha.

(ii) 3 P. M.—Downton descried a ship of 200 tons, followed by

(iii) "a huge sail" whose main yard was 43 or 44 yards long. Downton at first took her to be the Great Remee (Reheme i.e. *Rahimi* of Surat), belonging to Akbar's wife, and carrying nearly 1500 passengers and pilgrims to Mocha or Jedda, the port of Mecca. She was the principal target of English reprisal, as her capture would bring home to the Mughal Emperor the impatience of 'the subjects of the king of England' at the dishonour to their king and wrongs inflicted on themselves.

1. *Ibid*, 177, 162. Downton parted from Middleton on 2nd April, 9 leagues E. N. E. from Aden and remained there till 16th August, 1612. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.* 227.
3. The port town of the Indus. Is this "the ship of Pourtmean near to Zinda"? The list of articles indicate the exports of Sind to Arabia and thus the nature of Indo-Arabian trade. See *Ibid.* 162, 178.

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Leaving five armed guards to hold the Sind vessel. Downton gave chase to the big ship, which, on closer view, was discerned to be not the *Rahimi* of Surat, but the Mamodie (*Muhammadi*) of Dabhol. Dabhol being a friendly power, she could not be intercepted. Nevertheless Downton wanted to attack her for what he considered to be pride or insolence of her Captain (Malik Ambar) in neither visiting his General Middleton at Mocha Road nor at Dahhol. As Downton's vessel was unable to catch the faster ship of Dabhol, he fired a shot at her.

Towards evening Downton took the other ship to belong to Diu but her crew gave out she was 'Ruperil', the cotton ship of Cutsnagana, not far from the Rio de Zinda. From her Dowoton carried away several packs of cotton wool, and of cloth, some butter and oil. Then he caused the two ships to "edge up" with him "into the shoaled waters on the Arabian Coast.[1]

On 10th and 11 May Downton took out of the Lahari ship 66 fardles of Indian cloth but as they were found to be unnecessary, these were returned, together with part of their butter and oil. Only 8 corge of common baftas was detained, in exchange partly of 270 iron bill hooks and partly of cash. Subseqently the passengers and pilgrims of the cotton ship were put into the other Indian ships, which tried their best to hasten to Mocha.[2]

Whiles Downton was thus using the Indian ships at his pleasure at Aden, Middleton, at Asabb on the Abyssinian

1. *Ibid.*, 163, 178—179. Leaving Aden on 7th May, Downton arrived at the Babel Mandeb on 9th (*Ibid*, 162). On 14th May Downton brought the 'cotton ship of 'Ruperil' with him to Assab. (*Ibid*, 179).
2. Before the departure of the ships, a jelba, belonging to Benderzeade (a town 4 games wastward from Bender Caser, 6 leagues west from Munt Fellick (Mount Felix ?), carrying mats for Mocha, informed Downton that Middleton was at Asabb ( ). Downton seized many jelbas laden with mats of different towns on the Abyssinial coast out of which he took "72 goodly Barbary sheep, with great rumps, for which he gave 72 coarse dutties worth 18 or 20 per piece."

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coast, came to have "at (his) command all the desired ships of India", numbering 11, viz.,

(i) the Remee (the *Rahimi*), 1500 tons (ii) the Hassanee (the Harsonee), of 600 tons (iii) the Mamadea (the Mohamadee), of 150 tons	of Surat
(iv) the Salamatie (the Sullamettee), of 450 or 460 tons (v) the Caderee, of 200 tons (vi) the Agancany of 208 tons, of the Shahbunder's	of Diu

(vii viii, ix) 3 ships of Malabar
(x) the Caudree. 400 tons of Debull (Dabhol)
(xi) 'a great ship of Cannanor'.[1]

3. *Sir Henry Middleton Finds a Co-sharer in Captain Saris*

But Middleton had to meet a co-sharer in his plunder of the Indian ships in Captain Saris of the Eighth Voyage of the E. I. Company, whose 'pride, turbulent and cross dealing' has been represented by Downton to be as injurious to Middleton as 'the cruelties and diasters imposed on him by the Turks".[2] On April 18, 1612, the two English Captains entered into a contract on the following terms:—(a) "it was agreed to put off all our English commodities and such Indian wares (suitable for use of Englishmen) as by mutual consent of certain of the merchants of both sides",[3] (b) "of all

1. *Ibid*, 164, 179. On p. 179 we read of a ship of Carapatane ?) See also *I bid*, 220. Exchange of visits seemed to have taken place between Middleton and Saris and the King of Raheita.
2. For the presentation of Saris's case, see (i) letter of Richard Cocks (12 Jan, 1612-3). L. R. I. 219, (ii) letter of Edmond Comden (15 Jan. 1612-3 . *Ibid*, 226-8.
3. The English would "gain by our goods so much in the hundred as the Indians would gain by their goods at Swally Strand, without any adventure by Sea". Since the English had gone to India to purchase these goods but could not, so they would exchange their own merchandise for Indian articles valuing the latter at their price, in India and paying only 10 % more to cover transit customs and other charges. *Ibid*. 179.

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things had by this forcible trading", Middleton was to have 2/3 part for the sixth voyage and Saris 1/3 part for the eighth voyage. Settlement with the Turks was not included, as they had 'prejudiced' the sixth and not the eighth voyage. But Saris agreed not to hinder Middleton in forcing "satisfaction (by the release of those ships) from the Turks."[1]

Thereupon Saris departed for Mocha, Middleton continuing to intercept all incoming ships. But soon the two captains came to loggersheads over the sharing of the spoils. Saris would not allow Middleton to take satisfaction from the Turks, in which he would have no share, but would allow his rival "to ransom the Indian ships" at as high rates as possible and to raise anything from the Indians of which he would get a third share. On the other hand Middleton would have what he demanded from the Turks or nothing at all. He held that it would be "punishment enough" for the Turks to seize the goods of Indian ships and give in exchange thereof English merchandise and thereby deprive them of about half of the customs. This would also enable Middleton to dispose of the English goods, which it was difficult to vend elsewhere. At the same time Middleton held that the 'forcible exchanging of English goods for Indian goods would be a sufficient punishment for the Indians for the wrongs inflicted by them on the 6th Voyage. Again, restitution from the Turks was not possible without release of the Indian ships. But even if he released them, Saris "would rummage all the ships to the keel" and take one-third at his pleasure alike from those inflicting damages on Middleton (e.g. Gujrat ships) and from Middleton's friends (e.g. Dabhol & Malabar ships).[2]

1. *Ibid.* 164—5 : 179. 220.
2. Another point of dispute was that Saris objected to Middleton's terming Indian vessels 'ships' and preferred to call them junks, as the ships of China were termed at Bantam. Downton criticised this "as if a huge galley, galleon, Argosy or Carrack might not ..... be called a ship."

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This dispute tended to spoil the prospects of Middleton's securing compensation from the Turks.[1] The latter tried to turn this dispute to their best advantage and even accentuate them. Moreover they naturally endeavoured to raise as mueh customs from Indian ships as possible as contributing to the compensation money.

On 23rd May the party of Middleton seized a large quantity of goods on the Agamcany (*Azamkhani*) of Diu, a ship of the Shahbunder of the Banyans of Mocha. The latter thereupon promised at Assab to Saris that he would get 50 thousand rials of eight, if Middleton got from the Turks one hundred thousand rials from the Turks after the bringing over of the Indian ships to Mocha, On 9th June the Turks and the Shahbunder departed for Mocha, after having visited Middleton and informed him that since his demand was heavy, they would await "the Basha's further pleasure". The Shahbunder also added that "whensoever he brought all the ships over to Moho (Mocha), he need not but doubt but a composition would presently be made and money would have had at an instant."[2] This would throw light on the nature and opulence of the Indo-Arabian trade of the period.

4. *Method of Plundering Indian Ships*

The method of plunder of the Indian ships was described by Downton. The 'daily employment' of his men consisted in

(i) searching all Indian ships one after another, and

(ii) sending therefrom Indigo or packs of such cloths suitable for use in England to their own ships, for

1. *Ibid* I, 166-67, 169-70, 227-8. For this purpose Middleton "stayed" (detained) both the people of Dabhol and Malabar. Saris would not permit those detained after the conclusion of the contract, to depart. He would permit only those who clamoured to depart after finishing their business, and return to India that year i. e. in August. (*Ibid*, 170).

2. *Ibid* I. 167, 168. 171. Saris caused his men to search the "Jelba or Barque" of the Turks and the Shahbunder to the Keel (*Ibid*, 169). He even endeavoured to interrutpt all boats coming to or going from Middleton and threatened to burn some of the ships in the road. He was, however, pacified by the Shahbunder (*Ibid*, 171-2).

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counting and division between Middleton and Saris according to contract :—

(iii) forcibly exchanging English goods in lieu thereof at rates fixed by the English on consideration of the value of the English goods in India and of that of Indian goods together with transit charges.[1] The Mughal Government and the Indian States must bear a responsibility in the matter for their failure to provide armed convoys for their merchant ships. At the same time the Turkish Government failed to protect the incoming ships in the Red Sea. Middleton himself held that he had "sufficiently vexed" the Indians "by taking their best goods at our town price", which was not half the value they would have got in the Red Sea ports. At the same time Middleton never expected the Turks to pay him compensation unless the Indian ships were released,—as the Turks would recover in their customs whatever had been paid by them.[2] The messengers returning from the Basha to Mocha were sent over to Assab to discuss the terms of settlement with Aga Mamee (Mammy), Captain of the Mocha galleys (who had come from the Governor of Mocha to Middleton) and Shermale, the Shahbunder of the Banyans. They urged upon the

1. Cf. "..... our English goods delivered in lieu thereof, though with no willingness by the Indians received, but have it they must, at such rates as we had agreed upon; for some things that we might gain 50 per 100 and for other things less according to the value and esteem thereof in their country, which was done in regard partly of the long way we had bought it for them, and were in their country to sell it, and could not be permitted. as also for that they would gain by us 50 per cent of their cloth at Swally Strand at their own doors without any adventure by Sea or else we should not have it) and we gave them for their commodities ten per cent more than it cost in their country where we had been to buy it and could not be suffered, and for such things as came from far in the country that cost more the carriage, they had 20 per cent more than it cost, in lieu of the charges; and by this way we put off all the remains of our goods brought out of England, exchanging it only for Indian wares, without disbursing of any money". *Ibid*, I. 169. Moreland has not mentioned this point among the various methods, followed by the Europeans for provision of purchasing power. (See *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.*)

2. *Ibid*, 181.

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English to abate their demand of 100,000 rials but offered nothing in return. They wanted to hold a conference with "the Nahudas and Principals of all the Indian ships," probably,—as Downton conjectured,—to raise some revenue on their goods for satisfaction of the English, or "to confer about their customs and raise somewhat therein towards the payment." But no agreement was arrived at during 8 days' stay.[1]

All these negotiations and delays were expremely sickening to the Indian skippers who wanted to return to India in time after completing their business as quickly as possible, so as not to lose another year. The Nahuda of the *Rahimi* bound for Jedda, preferred to be personally maltreated to returning to Mocha and was willing to deliver any goods on his ship at any price demanded by the English,—even at a low price,—so that he might be freed and proceed on his journey. All Indian ships had directions to start by July 10.[2]

The Indian ships were guarded by Downton and the men of Middleton on the Mocha road in the hope of getting compensation from the Turks. But the latter, seeing all the ships on the road and even some Indians permitted to land, refused to pay any compensation to the English for wrongs inflicted on them in "another man's government" (Moghals ?), and accused the English of having subjected the Indians to unjust extortions. Middleton replied that the only means of doing some harm to the Turks by forcing money from them was by causing loss and misery to the Indians, and so he had no other

1. *Ibid.* 179-81. The Aga of Mocha and Mammy Captain, an Italian renegade, wrote to Middleton (28 June 1612) that they could not make peace with Middleton on account of Saris's false demands. *Ibid*, 196.

2. *Ibid.* 182—3. Middleton asked Downton to bring the *Rahimi*, then at a neighbouring island, and to restore the captured 'goods and and packs' to the Lahari Bandar ship, as they were unfit for English consumption. The latter lost only some jars of butter and of lamp oil and a small quantity of sugar and green ginger.

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way to "craze" the Turks but by carrying all the Indian ships away out of this sea.[1]

5. *Ransom and Release of the Indian Ships.*

Meanwhile the English were carrying on secret manoeuvres regarding the ransom money to be paid for the release of all Gujrat and Diu ships'[2] Difficulties arose over agreeing on the sums to be paid by every ship. Even Downton admitted that this developed into "a most trouble some and heart-relenting business," on account of (i) the outcries of the poor people, (ii) their difficulty in getting money, caused by the haste of the English (iii) and the high rate of interest charged by the Turks in giving them money.

On 25th July, a meeting was held on board the *Muhammadi*, the ship of Dabhol, between Middleton and the Indian Skippers successively to decide the ransom of each Indian ship, "to set down at what rates every ship should be taxed to pay for freedom". (i) the Great Remec (*Rahimi*, 1500 tons): Nahuda Meer Mohomet Tikke (Taqi?) Sherrife, was the first to be called. He was asked to pay 30,000 rials, as the tonnage of his ship equalled the total tonnage of 4 other ships, from which 50,000 rials were expected. He agreed, "after many pitiful looks and grievous faces", to pay 15,000 within 4 days. But the amount was to be kept secret to enable him to raise it easily.

(ii) the *Hassania* (600 tons), 10,000 rials,

(iii) the *Salamatie* (450 tons), 8000 rials,

(admitted by Downton to be disproportionate to the ransom of No. 1).

(iv) the Caudree (200 tons), 5000 rials,

(v) the Mamodie (150 tons), 2000 rials.

1. Letter of Governor of Mocha to Middleton (14 July). *Ibid.* 185. On 18th July, the Ruperil the cotton ship of Cutsnagana once seized by Downton and subsequently isolated by a storm, came to the Mocha road and she was saved from attack by Turkish Jelbas or lighters by Downton's artillery fire. *Ibid*, 185—6.
2. The Turks granted this after "much ado and great whining".

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The Captain of these four ships reluctant to pay the exorbitant ransom, enquired about the sum fixed for the *Rahimi* but the English did not disclose it. Thereupon they were granted time in which they could sound their creditors and have an idea of the amout they could raise among themselves.[1]

But all this labour was in vain. Captain Saris had a wrangle with Middleton on 26th on board his own ship (the *Clove*), willingly released the Caudree of Dabhol entering the Mocha road to deliver her goods, and plainly informed Middleton that he would not be satisfied with anything less than 50,000 rails. So Middleton commanded Downton to negotiate with the Indian Skippers and raise the ransom money as high as possible "without unreasonable cruelty" on them. But Downton could not ignore the sum fixed for the *Rahimi* in any new fixation.

Without consulting the Indian Skippers Dowton fixed the target at 33,5000 rails on 26th July.[2] But on the pressure of Captain Saris's two agents (Captain Towerson and Mr. Cox) on the 27th Downton handed them a note of fixation for 40,000 rials.[3]

In the meantime the Captain and merchants of the *Hassania* met Middleton and, on knowing that the matter was settled by others, refused to go away "till the composition was made." As it was impossible to get them down without "violent cruelty", Middleton sent for Downton & Towerson. They came together with Cox, carrying Saris's message that the ransom as fixed by Downton and Towerson (i.e. 40,000 rails) should not be altered. Middleton wondered how Downton could make a settlement without the parties concerned.[4]

A tripartite meeting was held in Middleton's cabin between Captains Downton, Sharpeigh and Hawkins, the

1. *Ibid*, 186—7, 228.
2. The *Rahimi*, 15000; the Hassania, 8000; the Salamatie, 6000; the Caudree, 3000; the Mamodie, 1500.
3. 15,000, 10,000, 8,000, 5,000, 2,000. *Ibid*, 187—9.
4. When Dowton explained how this was done, Middleton said something, but the text is damaged.

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agents of Saris (Towerson and Cox) and the Indians. Middleton was not present. Against the English demand of 10,000 rials, the Indians offered only 4,000 vowing that they would not go out of the ship till they had made the agreement. So they lay on the half-deck all night and the next morning also. At last, about noon, after a "world of wearisome clamours" the bargain was struck at 8000 rials. Some merchants agreed to pay their share of the ransom in 8 days and others to pay as they could procure their share. The Indians were so completely under the control of the English that the latter could see that enough goods remained as security for their money.

As regards the *Salamatie* the English stuck to 8.000 rials but her captain and merchants successively offered 2000,3000,4000; and finally the ransom was fixed at 6000, payable as in the previous case. On the 20th July the Captain and merchants of the *Caudree* compounded for 2000 rials and those of the *Mamodie* for 1000. [1]

By 10th or 11th August, the Indian merchants and Skippers, while resenting the payment very much, paid the entire ransom money, of which Middleton got $\frac{3}{4}$th and Saris $\frac{1}{4}$th. The reason given by Downton about the resentment is revealing and throws considerable light on the attitude of the Turks towards the Indians and nature of the fleecing of the Indian ships by the English. "As the Indians, but only for serving their turns, are most hateful to Turks, so they make no conscience how on all advantages they exact upon them when of necessity they must be beholden to them, so that instead of recovering restitution from the Turks for the wrongs, done us, we made them an extraordinary fruitful harvest, and our wrongs remain still uprighted from them". [2]

1. *Ibid*, 188-90.
2. *Ibid*, 190. The English factors had " to make even reckonings with the Crannies or Pursers of every ship " and to pay for goods received by exchanging English wares. *Ibid.* Saris sailed away from Mocha Road on 12th August ; Middleton, after finishing some business with Indian Nakhudas on 14th, started on 15th and passed through the Straits of Babel Mandeb on 16th. *Ibid* 191—2.

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But even all this did not complete the store of misery of the Indian ships. Unable to get any spare cable from Saris, Middleton & Downton, to meet their urgent needs, "peeled the Indian ships of all that possibly we could, of their best cables". But they proved to be "of small force and less continuance" in English ships.

6. *Reaction in India*

The news of the fate of the Indian ships in the Red Sea reached Surat in September, 1612. A Mughal ship of Surat just returning from Mocha, gave out (24th Sept.) that Sir Henry Middleton, along with three or four ships, had captured several Indian ships and compelled them to deliver their goods to him at rates dictated by him and also seized many other goods without anything in return. Several Englishmen (Thomas Aldworth, William Biddulph and Nicholas Withington), then trading with the mainland remained doubtful of what might befall them and their goods, for there was "a general murmuring in the city about this news". But they found "the people very reasonable". Influential men, who came to those Englishmen assured them that the news need not disturb them, and that in spite of the injury done by Middleton to the Indian ships, they would continue to show "honest respect" to the Englishmen.[2]

1. *Ibid*, 233—5.
2. *Ibid*, 234—5. Another Surat ship returned from the Red Sea on 29th September, *Ibid*.

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Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on the 17th July, 1949.

PRESIDENT :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha (in the Chair).
Dr. K. K. Datta.
Mr. Saiyid Ahsan Shere.
Dr. J. N. Sarkar.
Dr. T. Chowdhury.
Dr. S. C. Chatterji.
Dr S. C. Sarkar.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on January 16, 1949.

2(a) Passed the monthly accounts for the months January to June, 1949.

(b) Passed the Annual Accounts for the year 1948-49.

(c) Passed the Revised Budget for the year 1949-50 and the Budget Estimate for the year 1950-51.

(d) Passed the following payments :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
i. Patna Law Press—Printing Journal Vol. 34 (1-2) 1948. ..	574	13	0
Patna Law Press—Stationery ..	31	6	3
ii. Messrs. B. H. Blackwell, Ltd.—Purchase of Books.	106	1	0
,, ,, ,, ..	750	2	0
,, ,, ,, ..	234	3	0
iii Paper for Journal	122	0	0
iv Patna Electric Supply Co.—To Supply Electric Connection in Society's godown.	165	0	0
v Kitabistan, Allahabad—Purchase of Books ..	24	7	0
vi Chuckervertty Chatterji & Co. ,, ..	11	2	0
vii Indian Photo Engraving Co.—Printing of plates	117	0	0
viii T. A. of Lecturer, Annual Meeting ..	296	14	0
ix Free Press—Advance for Printing Journal ..	800	0	0
x Bhiksu Kasyapa—Purchase of Tripitaka ..	558	8	0
xi Ramkishun, Bookbinder—Binding charges of books.	87	12	0
xii S. A. Sarkar—Purchase of Books ..	11	11	6
xiii Chandra Bros. Electrically wiring godown	43	0	0
xiv Arthur Probsthain—Purchase of Books ..	25	8	0
xv Europa Publications—	40	2	0

3. Resolved that the name of Dr. T. Chowdhury be forwarded to the Bihar Sanskrit Association as elected to represent the Society on the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad for the next term of office.

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4(a) Resolved that Government be written to, asking for a grant of Rs. 5,000 annually for the printing of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society henceforward, with a strong case made out for it, with the assistance of the Editor-in-charge.

(b) In the meantime Father Moran is to be sounded regarding possibilities of their new press.

5. Resolved that the Archive Expert be invited to come sometime before the Pujahs, on terms referred to in Dr. Sen's letter, and that thereafter, on his report, Government be asked to provide the cost of carrying out his recommendations.

6. Resolved that exchange of current publications with the Institute of Volkerkunde, University of Wien, Austria be established.

7. Resolved that we should await the selection of the University delegate to the Oriental Conference, who might represent us as well.

8. Elected Dr. Subhadra Jha as an ordinary member of the Society.

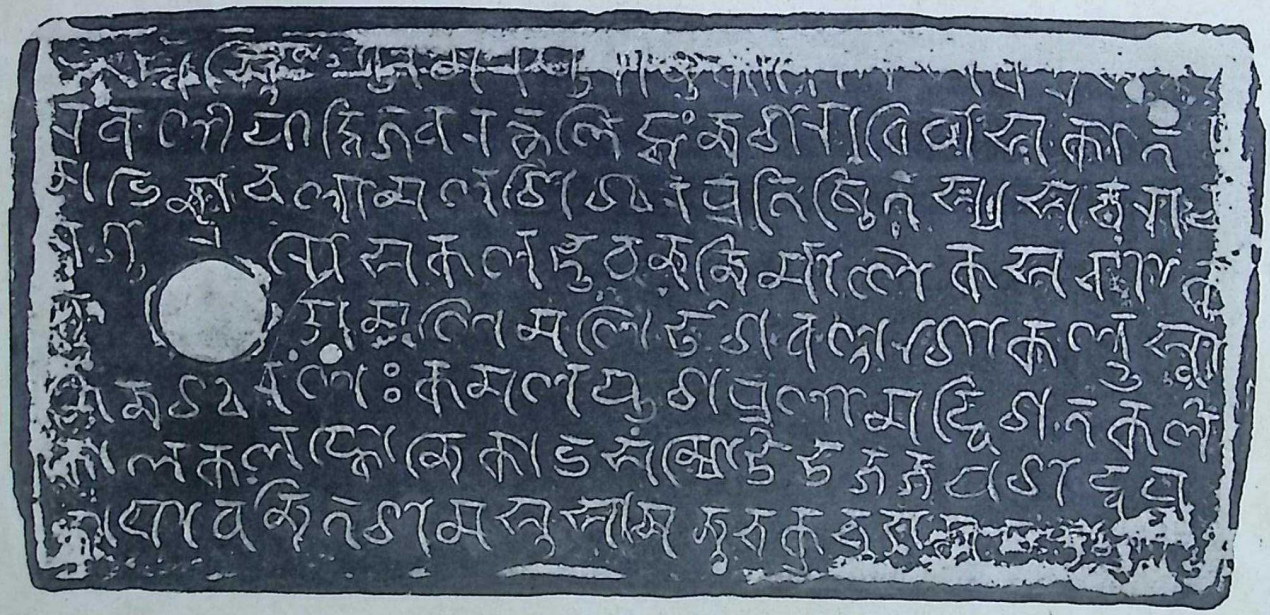
9. Resolved that Government be asked for a special grant to enable the Society to publish :—

i. Dr. Johnston's critical Edition of Mahayanottaratantra, a work on Tibetan Manuscripts.

ii. Dr. Sarkar's Catalogue of Tibetan Manuscript (30 bundles).

Since this technical printing can only be taken up by the Allahabad Law Journal Press, whose charges are very heavy. (N. B. An Estimate should first be obtained from the Allababad Law Journal Press.)

I Plate 2nd side.



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